The Rise of Bevan—*Andrew Roth*

THE Nation

A.N.C.

October 11, 1952

The Cartels' Choice

JOHN FOSTER DULLES

for Secretary of State

BY FRANK GOTHAM

*

The Weapon of Fear

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

*

Class of '46

Kem, Cain, Jenner, Watkins

Six Years Is Plenty!

OCT 2 4 1952

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AROUND THE U. S. A.

Something New in New England

Boston

NEW ENGLAND is one place where the people are in substantial agreement that the horse-and-buggy era was a vast improvement over that of the automobile. If you ask a real Yankee why industry has been leaving New England, he will talk about "lack of raw materials," "high wages," and "high taxes," but finally, if you push him hard, he will say he'd just as soon it did.

Actually, New England has quite a supply of raw materials. Vermont has marble, Massachusetts granite, Maine forests, and all New England has water power which could be harnessed to provide cheap electricity. Moreover, remoteness from some raw materials is compensated for by nearness to markets. The port of Boston is closer to Europe than is New York; as an air center, for the same reason, Boston has a great advantage.

The much-discussed Blanchard Report, prepared by a market consultant for the Massachusetts Development and Industrial Commission, charged that the state government, through its taxes, was hostile to industry. This section of the report received more notice in the newspapers than the statement that many Massachusetts industries suffered from unprogressive management and that many communities gave no encouragement to new industries. Governor Dever's reply to the tax charge was that corporation taxes have not been raised since 1948. Whether taxes on industry, in the aggregate, are higher in Massachusetts than in comparable sections of the country is a hotly debated subject. Certainly a number of industries are expanding despite the allegedly repressive taxes.

Why, then, has New England been losing its shoe and textile factories and periodically finding it harder than other sections of the nation to employ its available labor? In my opinion the primary reason is that the "native stock" inhabitants, who love to refer to their "Yankee ingenuity," simply lack ingenuity. The Yankees have lost their punch. Take the vacation industry, for example, now worth a half billion dollars a year to the region. The New Englanders of native stock had no conception of the wealth in their mountains until a group of New Yorkers, unsolicited, began coming up to North Conway, New Hampshire, to ski. You should see North Conway now! Even today, comparatively little is spent on advertising New England as a vacation paradise. Yet few other areas can offer such a combination of historical interest, fine beaches, lakes, mountains, and good fishing.

New England industries have undoubtedly suffered from high electric and gas costs, complicated by freight rates. President Truman not long ago highlighted the high electric costs when he deplored the fact that New England —or rather its utilities—had resisted federal power projects. Of the 145 federal power projects, at last count, not one was in New England. The newspapers of Boston—with the exception, strangely, of the Hearst papers, and perhaps one other—echo the opposition of the private utilities to a Connecticut River or Merrimac River authority. The *Traveler,* for example, admits that electric rates are higher (about 40 per cent) than the national average but adds that one-fourth of the area's electricity is water-generated, about the same proportion as in the nation at large. This is supposed to prove that nothing should be done to disturb the status quo.

Some of the shoe and textile industries would have to leave even if power costs were reduced; some could be saved. However, new industries in which power costs are not the decisive factor could even now be brought in and many are in fact being established. Life insurance has grown steadily. Research is forging ahead. The tooling industries of Worcester and Providence have maintained themselves well. United Aircraft at Hartford continues to expand. The silversmiths of Taunton and other cities have kept ahead in their field. General Electric, near Springfield, and Monsanto Chemicals, at Lynn, are bulwarks of New England prosperity. Jet motors are produced by General Electric at Lynn.

New England's population has increased despite the decline of some branches of industry. The 1950 census showed that Connecticut, where hard-goods industries are most developed, had grown 16.7 per cent in the previous decade, Rhode Island 10.2 per cent, Massachusetts 9.2 per cent; Vermont, New Hampshire, and Maine somewhat less. The growth of the first three states was well above the national mean.

The greater than average unemployment has been due in the main to the imbalance of New England economy—that is, to over-extension in the soft-goods field, where cost of power and nearness to raw materials are decisive factors in price. This imbalance has been supported by diehard Yankees with investments in that field who resent the competition of other industries in the labor market.

Today New England seems over the hump of the transitional period. New creative forces are at work. On a better-balanced diet the region is coming to life again.

HUGH WESTON

[*Hugh Weston, writer and lecturer, is the Unitarian minister of Unity Church in Natick, Massachusetts.*]

IN COMING ISSUES

Scheduled for October 18

What You Stand to Lose if Ike Wins

An appraisal of the issues, the platforms, the candidates, with an important editorial statement.

For October 25

Does Eisenhower Mean War?

By D. K. FLEMING

Readers of *The Nation* will remember Dr. Fleming's article in our issue of November 10, 1951—The "Slick" Mentality: Collier's Wins World War III—which attracted wide attention abroad as well as in this country.

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THE Nation

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The Shape of Things

Information Wanted

Many voters would doubtless like to know why "Honest Dick" Nixon, after passing the hat among his rich friends to raise $18,000 for stamps and such, had to use his franking privilege to poll 23,000 constituents on their choice for President. Sent out by Nixon in his capacity as a delegate to the Republican convention, the letter could hardly be classified as "official business."

Voters will also be curious about a transaction which the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* has just uncovered. Nixon, some time ago, introduced a bill to permit Nicola Malaxa, a Rumanian arms manufacturer, to remain in this country. The measure passed the Senate, but a companion bill was opposed in the House on the ground that Malaxa had had questionable relations with Communists. Subsequent investigation revealed that Malaxa had a hand in inducing Senators Nixon and Knowland to support the application of the Western Tube Company for a certificate of necessity from the government authorizing it to amortize the cost of a $10,000,000 plant over a five-year period. Also that Thomas Bewley, formerly Nixon's law partner, is secretary of the newly formed corporation; Herman L. Perry, the man who launched Nixon on his political career, is vice-president, and Malaxa is treasurer.

And while we are on the subject we would like to point out that voters are still waiting to learn more about General Eisenhower's standing as an "amateur" author —a classification which enabled him to make a huge saving in the tax paid on the price he received for "Crusade in Europe." By the curious logic of the Bureau of Internal Revenue, an author who received $500,000 (or was it $1,000,000?) from the sale of a book could properly be classified as an "amateur," although most people would regard earnings of this magnitude as eloquent proof of professional standing. One thing can be said of the Republican nominees: in the best tradition of the G. O. P., both are thrifty business men.

The Case of Mr. Kennan

What Americans still fail to realize is that acts of the Kremlin often have an entirely different political aim from the one that seems logical in Western eyes. Moscow's note demanding the recall of Ambassador Kennan, for example, looked from here like a recklessly hostile reaction. So extreme were both the decision and the language used by *Pravda* in commenting on the Ambassador's Berlin statement (it called him "an enemy of the peace," and a "slanderer under the mask of a diplomat") that American press and radio comment tried to find an explanation in Mr. Kennan's personal qualifications and record. A popular view was that the Kremlin had taken the first opportunity to get rid of an envoy who was at once an expert on Soviet affairs, a master of Russian, and the inventor of the containment policy. They failed to explain why he had been accepted by Moscow in the first place, since these facts were well known to the Soviet government.

A far more plausible explanation, in our view, is that the Kremlin's action was primarily aimed at its own people and its present and potential allies, particularly in the East. It was an announcement—the loudest and most dramatic possible—that Russia need take no insults from the "imperialists." The remark made by Mr. Kennan provided a perfect springboard for this demonstration: almost no criticism could arouse more anger than the charge that his experience as a diplomat in Moscow was worse than his trials in Germany during internment by the Nazis. Indeed, with all due respect to Mr. Acheson's righteous indignation over the Russian note, we can hardly imagine a less diplomatic public utterance than the American Ambassador's. To ask for his recall was to tell the huge Communist Party Congress, which opened last Sunday in Moscow, and the Asian peace conference at Peking, and the Asian and Eastern bloc nations altogether that the Soviet Union is both confident and powerful enough to challenge its enemies in Washington.

Soviet Intentions

Whether this act is also a warning of a more aggressive international policy will become evident when the U. N. General Assembly gets under way next week. Harrison E. Salisbury reported in last Sunday's New York *Times* that "informed Moscow opinion" held otherwise. The view there is that the Kremlin, about to embark on an enormous effort to integrate the political and economic resources of its vast area of influence, will try to avoid a global war. Stalin's long-range analysis of the internal and international situation, published as an article in the *Bolshevik*, seems to bear this out. Obviously intended as

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the basic directive for the party congress, Stalin restated the Marxist dogma that the capitalist countries would be driven by their rivalries and contradictions into a war among themselves. The Communist countries, on the other hand, were already benefiting from the rapid industrialization and economic coordination which had been forced upon them by Washington.

But if, as Stalin says, war in the near future is unlikely, the chance of a reduction of tension is even more so. The opening speeches at the Moscow congress by Malenkov and Molotov indicate that Russia has no intention of relying upon the forces of history to bring about the ultimate downfall of the "camp of imperialism and reaction"; it will take a hand itself in stimulating and exploiting the differences among the Western allies. All of which suggests that the coming General Assembly will probably be one of the most important—and acrimonious—yet held. The presence of five men of top rank in the Soviet delegation is a sure sign that the policy laid down by Stalin will be powerfully promoted at the U. N. as well as at the party congress in Moscow.

New Laurels for Dr. Chisholm

When the General Assembly of the United Nations convenes again in New York on October 14, the delegates might well pause to consider the distinction conferred on one of the U. N. specialized agencies this week. The American Public Health Association has bestowed its Lasker Award—"Oscar" of medicine and public health—on Dr. George Brock Chisholm, director-general of the World Health Organization.

While the diplomats have bickered, the Canadian-born Dr. Chisholm has quietly gone about his job of organizing the medical efforts of eighty-two member nations in his organization's world-wide campaign against sickness and high death rates. The amazing betterment of world health in the brief six years since the W. H. O. was founded, the step-by-step reduction of cholera, malaria, VD, and other cripplers of mankind, is the result of teamwork among men of all countries but it could scarcely have been accomplished without the leadership of this modest physician.

Brock Chisholm's passionate devotion to the ideal of a healthful happy future for all mankind, without regard to national boundaries, proclaims him a genuine world citizen. His employers at the General Assembly can derive a healthy inspiration from his latest honor.

Competitive Aluminum

Some low rumblings in the Canadian press suggest that a good many obstacles will have to be overcome before the Aluminum Company of America is able to start work on its $400,000,000 project in the Taiya Valley district of the Alaskan Panhandle. The blueprint calls

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for damming the Yukon River below Whitehorse and diverting the impounded waters by means of a tunnel through the Coast Range to powerhouses near Skagway. Thus the consent of the governments of British Columbia, which owns most of the water rights, and of Canada will be required.

It would be a mistake to believe that these consents will be given as a matter of course. As the *Financial Post* of Toronto points out, "Canada has so far been left out of any long-term planning for aluminum supplies in the United States defense program, even though the two countries have agreed to plan defense production on a continental basis." Again Canadians may be inclined to ask why they should export water for production of the metal outside their territory when they are effectively barred by tariffs from selling their own surplus aluminum in the American market.

Certainly the British Columbian government is likely to want assurances that the Alcoa scheme will not in any way impede full development of the Kitimat project of the Aluminum Company of Canada, which is already under construction. The ultimate capacity of Kitimat will be double that of the proposed Taiya Valley plant, but under the terms of its contract with British Columbia the company need not attain full output until the year 2000. Nevertheless, British Columbia has a large economic stake in the rapid completion of the Kitimat project and may well wish to see that objective attained before it provides facilities for a foreign competitor.

Honoring Free Minds

In these days it is reassuring to find free minds still functioning effectively in the field of freedom and reaping honors for doing so. A fortnight ago at a gathering in the Biltmore Hotel in New York the awards offered by the Sidney Hillman Foundation for outstanding newspaper and magazine reporting and for the most notable work of non-fiction in 1951 were given to three authors who uncovered various threats to the rights of Americans. The prizes, of $500 each, were awarded to Carl T. Rowan of the Minneapolis *Tribune* for a series of stories on race relations in the South, to Arthur D. Morse for his article Who Is Trying to Ruin Our Schools? in *McCall's* last September, and to Alan Barth of the Washington *Post* for his book "The Loyalty of Free Men."

The judges—William L. Shirer, Lewis S. Gannett, and Bruce Bliven—deserve praise, too, for choosing the hottest, most controversial subjects on the American horizon and honoring men who had discussed them boldly and uncompromisingly. And the whole affair did credit to the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America which created the Sidney Hillman Foundation in 1947 to help advance the ideas of its great leader.

But perhaps the most heartening part of the whole ceremony was the address by William T. Evjue, president of the *Capital Times* of Madison, Wisconsin. Coming direct from the lost battle against Joe McCarthy, the famous Wisconsin journalist spoke with the vigor and determination of a man to whom one defeat is only an episode in a war he has helped to lead since the days of old Bob LaFollette. On a later page of this issue we are publishing a slightly condensed version of Mr. Evjue's speech, to which the press in general paid little or no attention.

Warning to the Democrats

THE final and decisive phase of the Presidential campaign finds the Democrats half-organized, off balance, and fumbling three key issues—Korea, inflation, and communism.

By stressing the theme that Administration "blunders" were responsible for our involvement in the Korean War, General Eisenhower has seemed to imply that he favors an early truce. In fact, he manages now and then to sound like a "peace" candidate. Of all the current election issues touching the war, Samuel Lubell reports in the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, the one that stirs the harshest expression of anger against the Administration is the drafting of youngsters. Governor Stevenson has courageously suggested that it might have been better if the United Nations forces had stopped at the Thirty-eighth Parallel, but if he is to counter the force of the Republican demagoguery on this issue, he should take a more affirmative position in favor of securing a truce without delay, even at the expense of some "loss of face" for the Administration and Secretary Acheson, who becomes a little grimmer and more inflexible every time Senator McCarthy makes a speech.

The present inflation is of course closely related to the Korean War. On both issues voters show a remarkable ambivalence. They want to see the war terminated as quickly as possible and they resent the inflation which is an inescapable aspect of the war. At the same time, many fear that a sudden end of the fighting might bring a depression. Others accuse the Administration of keeping the war going as an artificial means of maintaining prosperity. Even the voters who say, "We've never had it better" are inclined to say in the next breath, "This boom can't last forever." And on another level many Americans have been so hard hit by the inflation that they can't imagine what this silly talk of "prosperity" is all about. Too much emphasis by the Democrats on the theme "You've never had it better" must irritate millions of voters living in a strange twilight world in which they manage somehow to survive but are constantly tantalized by a profusion of goods and gadgets that are just out of reach. To win these voters Governor

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Stevenson should hammer home the theme that peace does not necessarily mean a depression. He should explain how a depression can be avoided. He should also demand for "low-standard" workers specific relief in the form of tax, wage, and price adjustments, and he should project a dynamic—that is, a New Deal plus—program for the underprivileged.

But it is on the issue of "communism" that the Democrats face the greatest danger. Governor Stevenson has spoken out with courage and genuine insight against McCarthyism, but he is in real danger of accepting the Republican thesis that "communism" per se is a major domestic menace. In his radio speech of September 29 the Governor made some statements that will distress his friends and fail to appease his enemies. He sounds out of character when he talks about "the anti-Christ" that stalks the earth, seeking even "to dethrone God from His central place in this universe." This kind of talk will not undercut McCarthy's influence. On the contrary, it will make McCarthy sound like a prophet. It is, moreover, bad politics. Miles McMillin, the astute political reporter of the Madison *Capital-Times,* has pointed out that McCarthy's basic tactic is to refuse to discuss any issue but communism. The object, of course, is to force his opponents to come to him, to discuss the issue that carries his trademark. If they accept the bait, they must either contend that they are more violently opposed to communism than he is or that they can "fight communism" more effectively than he can. Either position necessarily strengthens McCarthy's hand.

THE only sane tactic for the Democrats, therefore, is to scotch the myth that communism *as such* imperils this country. If Stevenson fails to do so, he is likely to lose the election. For if the revolutionary ferment throughout the world today is in fact the product of a Communist conspiracy and nothing more, and if it is true that a handful of Communist conspirators could enslave the American people and imperil their institutions, then many Americans will insist that so grave an evil must be fought by any methods available, including those that are brutal and unmannerly. One cannot combat McCarthy by conceding his premise and then arguing about methods. It is not the "the menace of communism" that the Democrats should be talking about but the substantial values of a democratic society and how best to combat poverty, illiteracy, ignorance, and disease. The other day McCarthy said that he intends to step up the violence of his campaign. One can expect that he will issue a last minute "smear" of Governor Stevenson which will confuse even fairly sensible people by its violence and audacity.

The Democrats have fumbled in their handling of these three issues; they have also failed to organize an effective campaign. If there is any great stirring or excitement in the ranks of labor over this election we have seen no signs of it. For reasons of their own the Democrats seem to be campaigning on the assumption that to win they must carry the wealthier suburbs. But far more voters live in slums than in those suburbs. The danger of an Eisenhower victory is increasing. Every indication points to a huge registration and a record vote, including a large outpouring of "first voters." While the hour is late, there is still time to strike the spark that might kindle a real prairie fire. Nearly half the electorate has apparently not yet made up its mind. But enthusiasm cannot be aroused among the great masses of voters by cutting General Eisenhower "down to size" or by insisting that things were "never better." And it is difficult to inspire hope and confidence in people by saying that all that is needed today is a mere "refreshening" of programs first stated twenty years ago. Republican vulnerability is not the key to the campaign: the people want to believe that there is a way to peace and security and freedom.

Question for Eisenhower

DILIGENT rereading of General Eisenhower's speeches since his nomination has failed to reveal any serious discussion of foreign economic policy. This, perhaps, is understandable, since in no other field have the disagreements between the two wings of the Republican Party been so acute. Anything definite the General might say on the subject that would please, say, Paul Hoffman, would infuriate Senator Taft, and vice versa.

Yet the voters are certainly entitled to the General's views on such matters as trade policy, foreign aid, and Point Four. As the *United States News and World Report* of September 19 points out, the problem of balancing trade between the United States and the outside world "is becoming acute once again and is going to land near the top of the pile of problems that the next President faces in January." A similar warning comes from Joseph M. Dodge, former president of the American Bankers' Association. Addressing the annual convention of that body on October 1, he said: "Recently world trade and currency restrictions have been increasing as a result of mounting balance-of-payment problems coming from the price decline in primary commodities in the last year, the turn from a sellers' to a buyers' market, and growing defense expenditures. Everywhere we see that the same fundamental disequilibrium continues to exist."

Broadly speaking, there are three possible ways of righting this "fundamental disequilibrium." First, foreign countries might take steps to limit their imports strictly to the value of goods they export to us. But most European countries have already sharply reduced purchases in the United States; to do much more, they would

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have to undertake deflationary measures severe enough to create unemployment, force down wages, and curtail total demand for both food and raw materials. Clearly the adoption of such measures by our allies would affect adversely the morale of their people. They would lead, also, to demands for discriminatory barriers against American imports in order to encourage increased supplies from countries that did not ask for payment in dollars. They would certainly add to pressures for an enlargement of trade with countries behind the iron curtain which were in a position to ship vitally needed food and materials. Even today American efforts to curb such East-West trading are greatly resented by Europeans.

Whatever method foreign countries employed to reduce purchases here to the amount they could pay for from the proceeds of current exports, the closing of the gap would mean a reduction of American export sales by one-third, or some five billion dollars—a severe blow to many branches of industry and agriculture which would, in fact, injure the whole economy. For instance, in recent years 35 per cent of our wheat, 40 per cent of our cotton, 15 per cent of our trucks, and 20 per cent of our tractors have been sold abroad. The *Wall Street Journal* of September 12 warned: "When producers of these things sell less abroad, they may produce less and buy less of other things—starting a chain reaction through the whole economy."

If reduction of American exports is an undesirable method of restoring equilibrium, how about an increase in imports? We are often told that this is an impossibility because the United States is, by and large, the most efficient producer in the world and has little need of foreign goods. But many people who use this argument also support tariffs designed to keep out the goods of more efficient foreign producers. From the point of view of the competitive free-enterprise economics that General Eisenhower expounds, the American tariff long ago became an anachronism and is now a dangerous absurdity. That fact is being increasingly emphasized by big business organizations like the American section of the International Chamber of Commerce and the Committee for Economic Development.

THE battle on this question will be joined again next year when the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act is due to expire. If General Eisenhower is elected President, will he urge the reenactment of this measure, preferably in a more liberal form? The Republican platform does support the principle of reciprocal trade agreements but with a qualification about "unfair import competition." This qualification, coupled with the voting record of Republican Congressmen on the question—a large majority opposed the original Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act and have consistently sought to weaken it at each renewal—makes it very doubtful that a Republican President could do much to encourage the import of foreign goods, even if he wanted to.

If we continue to insist on selling more goods abroad than we buy, how is the gap to be filled? Foreign investment is one possibility, although in the long run this increases the need for accepting more imports, since otherwise the payment of interest and dividends must add to the strain on foreign dollar resources. But in any case private investment on the scale necessary to fill the gap is out of the question. American capitalists will put money in a limited way into the exploitation of foreign oil and other mineral resources, but they do not find attractive most of the long-term development projects for which countries like India are seeking capital.

Thus any attempt to correct the fundamental disequilibrium in trade between the United States and the rest of the world by means of foreign investment must involve government funds. But a majority of Republican Congressmen have consistently tried to reduce foreign aid, and there will be strong pressure on a Republican Administration to make drastic cuts in this department.

Nevertheless, the dollar shortage is a fact: the gap between America's foreign receipts and payments exists and tends to grow larger. Somehow a solution for the problem must be found even if all apparent solutions are unpopular. For if nothing is done, the Western world must drift rapidly toward economic crisis and perhaps even the kind of war for markets that Stalin now hopefully anticipates. What about it, General Eisenhower?

The Rise of Bevan

BY ANDREW ROTH

Morecambe

"I THINK that was the most important conference in the history of our Socialist movement," remarked one of Britain's ablest young Labor journalists and a prospective candidate for Parliament. In retrospect he was not far wrong. Nor was Aneurin Bevan far wrong in suggesting that the international spotlight had moved to the conflict within Labor's ranks because this will determine Britain's future policies. Bevan's wife, Jennie Lee, also a left Laborite, believes the peace of the world depends on the success of three men—Nehru, Tito, and her husband. Without fully subscribing to this view it is possible to agree that the increased Bevan vote reflected an increased desire in Britain for quasi-neutralism.

British politics is clearly changing its shape. The Conservative Party has substantially declined in popularity and has no new leadership or program to halt its downhill slide. The Liberal Party has been reduced to a shadow into which life can no longer be breathed. The Attlee-Morrison-Gaitskell pro-American right wing of the Labor Party, with its reluctance to go beyond consolidating the "welfare state" at its present level, is tending to re-

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place the Liberals as a centrist influence in British politics. Bevan's real victory is his substantial consolidation of the left Labor forces desiring less rearmament, more independence from the United States, more nationalization.

An open split in the party in the near future is most unlikely. Everyone—except crudely powerful union bosses like Deakin and Lawther—remembers the disastrous results of the 1931 split and knows that Labor rank-and-filers detest splitters. This helps explain Bevan's call for unity and his obvious delight when the declaration of fratricidal war came from his opponents. Furthermore, a recent Gallup poll shows that Labor would win any election now by some 7.5 per cent, which would give it a tremendous Parliamentary majority. Much as they may disagree, the leaders of British Labor would rather share the Cabinet among themselves than permit Churchill to remain in power by splitting apart now.

It is clear that Bevan and his supporters are today almost as strong as their rivals. The Bevanites have the overwhelming support of the "activists" who ring doorbells for the constituency parties. They have a substantial and growing minority of supporters among trade-unionists, as was shown by the comparatively small margin of 1,356,000 by which the straight Bevanite motion favoring a rearmament slowdown was defeated. Unions having a total of more than 1,000,000 votes supported this motion. Another indication is the latest Gallup poll, which found that as many ordinary Labor voters would like to see Bevan succeed Attlee as favor Attlee's present deputy, Herbert Morrison.

Although the Bevanites did not want to increase their proportion in the Executive Committee from last year's four out of seven to more than five out of seven for fear of increasing discord, their whole slate of six won, displacing such party stalwarts as Dalton and Morrison. The new twenty-seven-man committee will thus have six Bevanites, supported by J. J. Reeves of the cooperatives and Eirene White in the women's section, against about fourteen right-wingers in the trade-union and women's sections. There is a small group of centrists, including Mark Hewitson. Former Colonial Secretary James Griffiths owes his election to the fact that the Bevanites did not oppose him. As leader of the Parliamentary Labor Party, Attlee remains a member.

Bitter personal attacks show that the right-wing newspapers now consider the containment of Bevanism the principal task for those seeking continuity of Britain's present foreign and internal policy. They are making Morrison their hero because only he has both the will and the shrewd tactical sense necessary to fight Bevanism with some chance of success. All right-wingers have been appalled by Deakin's clumsiness in threatening the constituency parties with the formation of an organization within the party to squash its left wing. Mr. Morrison would do deftly and quietly what Deakin blurted out crudely in public.

The danger of underestimating the strong feelings of the Labor activists who have pushed Bevan to the fore was demonstrated by the unhappy experience of R. H. S. Crossman, *New Statesman* editor and new member of the Executive. In his introductory speech he suggested that he would speak less harshly than he had planned. He meant merely to emphasize the need for unity but was understood to be intending to water down his Bevanite principles. Immediately cheers turned into boos. Bevan showed his understanding of this sort of incident when he told a packed meeting on Wednesday night that he and others have been pushed ahead not because of their personal qualities but because of the policies they have advocated during these last eighteen months.

For a Free United Nations

BY J. ALVAREZ DEL VAYO

United Nations

A NEW item has been placed at the last moment on the provisional agenda of the U. N. Assembly opening in New York on October 14; it is entitled "Administration of the United Nations" and has been added at the request of the Secretary General. Trygve Lie has not revealed his reasons, but various guesses have been made. Some persons believe he will do no more than submit to the Assembly his plan to replace the assistant secretaries general by a number of general directors; others think that he will recommend new rules for the appointment of staff; still others that his main objective is to challenge the decisions of the Administrative Tribunal nominated by the Assembly to pass upon the differences between the Secretary General and his personnel. It is certain that there will be a lively debate over the recent expulsion of members of the secretariat, a matter of vital interest for the prestige, the authority, and the future of the United Nations.

Members of the U. N. staff have been dismissed for various reasons at various times. The purge has taken three main forms: the firing of those regarded as politically suspect; the firing of those who have defended, within the U. N. Staff Association, the rights of fellow-members who have been threatened or dismissed improperly; and finally the appointment of new staff members under a

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system of selection leaning as far as possible to the right. The case which has provoked the strongest reactions of surprise and indignation is that of Hugh Lukin Robinson, a Canadian. Mr. Robinson joined the staff on January 14, 1950, for a one-year period, as an official of the populations-problems division of the department of social affairs. He did not solicit the post but was invited to take it because of his standing as an expert. When he completed his year of work, his superiors recommended an extension of his contract for two more years. They obtained only one year's extension. When this ran out, his chief applied on his behalf for a contract of indefinite duration. Instead, Mr. Robinson's contract was not renewed. This raised the question: Why was he dropped? Had his value as an expert decreased in the meantime? The explanation accepted by most of his colleagues is that he was penalized because as vice-president of the U. N. Staff Association he had defended members against the discriminatory policy of the U. N. "high command."

Last August 11 the Administrative Tribunal sitting in Geneva rendered a decision rejecting Trygve Lie's contention that the Secretary General has the right to refuse to renew a contract without giving his reasons if he considers them of a "confidential nature." The Tribunal maintained that Mr. Lie's refusal to say why Mr. Robinson was dropped constituted prima facie evidence that the real cause was his activity as a leader of the Staff Association. The Tribunal also cited the Declaration of Human Rights. It could not order the reinstatement of Mr. Robinson, but it could order the payment of compensation, which it did.

In Europe the Robinson case has become a *cause célèbre*. The *Gazette de Lausanne*, a respected and conservative Swiss newspaper, published the decision of the Administrative Tribunal under a banner headline, "Mr. Trygve Lie Condemned" (August 13, 1952). The moderate *Journal de Genève*, after ironically lamenting that in the cold war as waged within the U. N. the governments were "only able to agree on the smallest common denominator, Mr. Trygve Lie," went on to declare that it was unhealthy "to maintain constant uncertainty in the minds of those who should devote themselves entirely to the cause of the U. N."

I have deliberately chosen comments from two leading Swiss journals because Switzerland was for twenty years the headquarters of the League of Nations and during that time the Swiss authorities never asked whether any League employee was or was not a "security risk." But many other European papers have expressed grave concern over what is going on in the U. N. secretariat. The London *New Statesman and Nation* on August 30 said of the recent staff purge: "All are Americans, and most of the dismissals have been due to the intervention of the F. B. I." It is precisely this alleged intervention of the police power of the United States that has most seriously disturbed the U. N. delegations and the rank and file of the secretariat and has created a demand that the matter be fully discussed in the Assembly. In a press conference, widely commented on, Mr. Lie in effect admitted that the dismissals had been decided on for political reasons—so it could not be said that "the U. N. is a Communist nest."

THE CRUX of the problem is whether or not the Secretary General considers the United Nations a sovereign institution. If he does, his first duty is to defend the principle embodied in the U. N. Charter—as in that of the League of Nations—namely, that its officials are exclusively the servants of the international organization and not of the country which has provided the site for the building or the largest share of its financing. If he does not, he will naturally pay more attention to the provisions of the McCarran law or the advice of the State Department than to the Charter.

I do not pretend that the League of Nations was perfect; but at least the officials of the League never boasted of their unending fight for democracy while behaving in a wholly undemocratic way toward the secretariat. E. Ranshoffen-Wertheimer, a former member of the League of Nations staff now employed by the United Nations, writes in his book, "The International Secretariat of the Future": "As long as the governments were democratic, the Secretary General could draw his recruits from a very broad layer. . . . With the abandonment of democratic principles the situation changed. The very qualities that had made a candidate from those countries an ideal recruit now invariably disqualified him in the eyes of his own government."

It is not only a question of respecting democratic principles but also of respecting the U. N. Charter. Article 100 says plainly: "In the performance of their duties the Secretary General and the staff shall not seek or receive instructions from any government or from any other authority external to the organization." The article continues: "Each member of the United Nations undertakes to respect the exclusively international character of the responsibilities of the Secretary General and the staff and not to seek to influence them in the discharge of their responsibilities." The United States is therefore not entitled to dictate to the United Nations who may or who may not work for it.

The juridical basis and the legislative history of Articles 100 and 105 (the latter deals with the privileges and immunities that the organization must enjoy for the fulfilment of its purposes) have lately been the subject of an exhaustive study by legal experts. The results constitute a veritable arsenal of facts and arguments which decisively support the position I have stated above. I shall return to this study when the issue is debated in the Assembly. But important as are the juridical and legisla-

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tive aspects of the question, its political significance is greater. In the situation existing today, in which the cold war may go on for years or may suddenly explode into a total "shooting" war, nobody who desires peace can tolerate practices which undermine the authority of the United Nations.

For that organization, with all its defects, is the only instrument for peace at our disposal. If it is to be effective, it needs first of all officers and a staff animated by its ideals and prepared to work and fight for them, without having to fear that a desire for peace may be considered subversive in an institution created to safeguard peace. Trygve Lie should not regard this issue merely as one affecting his personal prestige. It may well determine whether the United Nations shall be the august international assembly conceived at San Francisco to serve the cause of peace or an organization serving the foreign policy of a single great power.

John Foster Dulles: The Cartels' Choice

BY FRANK GOTHAM

AS NEW elections roll around, John Foster Dulles is again being mentioned as the next Secretary of State —with the usual "if." This guessing game has become an institution. Just as we put an egg in the flowerpot at Easter or hang a stocking from the chimney-piece at Christmas, Dulles is quadrennially deposited on the State Department's doorstep.

He was tagged for Secretary in 1944 and 1948, until his friend Tom Dewey failed to make the grade. It is not at all certain that Eisenhower, if elected, would choose Dulles for the post. Dulles's connection with Ike is slender; they have met less than a dozen times. Their relationship is not to be compared with the intimate personal and political friendship between Dulles and Dewey. Yet Dulles, without waiting to be drafted, is clearly out to be Secretary of State. That seems to be his consuming ambition, the desired climax to a career largely devoted to diplomacy.

Dulles resigned as consultant to the State Department last March. He flew to Paris to see Eisenhower late in May. In Chicago in July he wrote the Republicans' foreign-policy plank. Since the convention he has been actively campaigning for Ike—and for John Foster Dulles—and helping compose some of the Presidential candidate's pronouncements on international affairs.

Since Dulles may play an important part in shaping United States foreign policy in the coming years, it is timely to reassess the man. What are his qualifications for the job of Secretary of State? How about his record? Is he the person best suited to guide America's course in world affairs in this volcanic phase of history?

FRANK GOTHAM is the pseudonym of one of the best and most experienced of American foreign correspondents. This is the first of two articles on John Foster Dulles. In the second, to appear next week, Mr. Gotham will consider the conflicts in Dulles's character and his part in the current election campaign.

Dulles is sixty-four years old, a tall man with gray hair and blue eyes. He is quiet and restrained, a slow talker, sometimes tantalizingly slow. In knowledge and experience he is excellently equipped, but these qualities failed to keep him from proclaiming in 1939 that "only hysteria entertains the idea that Germany, Italy, or Japan contemplates war upon us." On various other occasions his judgment has gone off the rails; I shall come back to some of them later.

The son of a Presbyterian minister, Dulles is himself a leading Presbyterian layman and has influenced the position of his church in the field of international relations. This makes even stranger his remark in the Senate in 1949 that "moral obligations are rather loose things."

His past is a web of contradictions. His recent utterances tend to divide the American people and disquiet our allies. His opportunism is blatant even to politicians familiar with the temptations of expediency. Americans like their Machiavellis clothed; Dulles stands there just a little too naked.

Dulles was trained for diplomacy as Nijinsky was for the ballet. His grandfather was John W. Foster, Secretary of State in President Benjamin Harrison's Cabinet. His uncle was Robert Lansing, Woodrow Wilson's Secretary of State. John W. Foster encouraged his grandson to study international affairs. The boy of seven could have understood little of the meaning of the ceremony at Shimonoseki where in 1895 his grandfather presided over the conference ending the Sino-Japanese war; but when he was nineteen his grandfather took him as his secretary to the Hague peace conference, and the world of diplomacy began to assume a definite shape. From then on his family connections opened one door after another for him. A word from Grandfather Foster helped place young Dulles, then twenty-three, in the big international-law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, of which he was later to become the top partner. When he was twenty-nine his uncle, Secretary Lansing, suggested

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to President Wilson that he be sent on a State Department mission to Panama to induce the government to declare war on Germany in 1917 simultaneously with the United States. Young Dulles received the assignment and carried it out successfully.

At the Paris peace conference Dulles was principal American counsel on the committees dealing with reparations and financial affairs and helped draft the relevant provisions of the Versailles treaty. After the treaty was signed he became the first American member of the Reparations Commission.

His career continued to be marked by important tasks. While other budding diplomats collected stamps or played golf, Dulles's hobby was world affairs. In 1927 he advised the government of Poland on how to steady that country's falling currency. In 1931 he represented American bondholders at three debt conferences on Germany's debt called by Hjalmar Schacht in Berlin. At about the same time the far-flung Swedish firm of Krueger and Toll went bankrupt and Dulles was credited with salvaging eighty cents on the dollar for American claimants.

From his partnership in Sullivan and Cromwell he amassed a fortune. The firm counted among its clients the governments or the big-business interests of Poland, France, Holland, Belgium, Germany, China, Japan, Denmark, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, and Colombia. Dulles was attorney for the international nickel cartel. In Germany, Gerhardt Westrick, later a stalwart Nazi, was associated with his firm, and Dulles represented a New York bank that was financial agent for the Nazi government. He also acted for Franco's Bank of Spain in a suit against the Federal Reserve Bank of New York to recover $6,500,000 in silver which the United States Treasury had bought from Spain's Loyalist government. His long experience in defending international cartels, as well as domestic utilities and other huge business enterprises, has naturally influenced his whole political philosophy.

DULLES was not always a symbol of the "internationalism" in the Republican Party. Before the war the New York branch of America First was reported to have been organized in his office, and Mrs. Dulles was said to have contributed money to it. In 1939 he made some rather isolationist speeches and in the same year published a book, "War, Peace, and Change," in which he described the Germans, Japanese, and Italians as super-dynamic peoples. He reproached Britain and France and to a lesser degree the United States for the "selfish and possessive attitude of the status quo powers." He favored treaty revision in favor of the dictatorship countries.

Before the war he not only strongly opposed United States involvement but was even against "aid short of war" to the countries which were later to become our fighting allies. He called such aid "pinpricks" which destroyed American influence with the totalitarian peoples. "I see no justification for our participation in the senseless cyclical struggle," he wrote in 1939. To indicate his attitude immediately after Pearl Harbor, I will quote from a notice distributed by Sullivan and Cromwell to their employees, dated December 9, 1941, and signed by John Foster Dulles: "We will have a strong continuing interest in the welfare of those lawyers who leave us for government service. We cannot, however, assure that this will mean that such lawyers may at the termination of their government service resume their relationship with us where they left off." The ordinary employee of the firm, I submit, must have taken this to mean, that he risked his career if he entered the war-time service of his country.

In 1950 Dulles published a book entitled "War or Peace" in which many well-reasoned passages are interlarded with expressions of naive vanity. If we are to believe Dulles it was he who, during the war, pushed a hesitant Franklin Roosevelt into what was to become the United Nations. Though bipartisanship in foreign policy was fathered by the late Senator Vandenberg several years earlier, the book suggests that it was Dulles who created the war-time collaboration between the Roosevelt Administration and the Republican opposition.

Dulles also claims to have prompted Secretary of State Byrnes to change his policy in 1945 and favor step-by-step independence for Italy's former African colonies. He identifies himself as the man who induced President Truman to put Japan's outlying islands under American strategic trusteeship. He says that a telephone call from him in Paris in 1947 caused Congress to pass the interim-aid bill bridging the gap until Marshall Plan funds began to flow. He professes to have predicted that Russia would have the atomic bomb in 1949 although almost everyone else put the date much farther in the future. These claims are at least exaggerated. One would hardly guess from his story that the decisions for which he takes credit were reached collectively and that his views were those of a group of advisers.

Yet in the post-war period he has repeatedly filled important roles. He attended the meetings of the Big Four Council of Foreign Ministers. He has regularly been a member of the American delegation to the Assembly of the United Nations. For two years before last March he served as consultant to Dean Acheson. His main accomplishments in that office were negotiation of the Japanese peace treaty and preparing the rearmament of Japan. Time will tell whether those were acts of wisdom. And in all honesty it should be recorded that John Allison, now Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, carried much more of the load than the

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public was ever told. But Allison, after all, is just a career diplomat and not a Wall Street lawyer turned politician.

Dulles's own career took a different course in 1949, when he ran against Herbert Lehman for the United States Senate. One of his major campaign arguments again revealed the streak of vanity. If we were to have a genuinely bipartisan foreign policy, he insisted, it was essential for him to be in the Senate. A couple of howlers which he committed in the campaign probably accounted for his defeat. He unceasingly attacked "statism" —including federal aid to education, which even Senator Taft was supporting—and suggested that Lehman's election would help perpetuate the welfare state and possibly incite a revolution in America. And on one occasion he told voters, in effect, that a look at the face of the people in New York City would reveal why they vote as they do. Afterward he denied that this gibe contained an anti-Semitic implication, but the sting remained.

Before the election Dulles occupied an appointive seat in the Senate for several months. During this period he voted consistently with the Truman Administration on issues of foreign policy, but repeatedly sided with the most reactionary Republicans on domestic questions; he was against amendments to the Taft-Hartley act, against an increase in the minimum wage, against more federal transmission lines for rural electrification.

Operation Mainbrace

BY ERLING BJOL

Copenhagen

THE recent naval maneuvers conducted by NATO—Operation Mainbrace—in the waters around Norway and Denmark caused considerable misgivings, particularly in Denmark, before they started, some tense moments while they lasted, and general relief when they were over. One reason is obvious. Allied naval forces were operating in the Baltic as far east as the island of Bornholm. When the Russians left Bornholm in 1946 the Danish government promised them explicitly that it would use only Danish troops to defend the island. It gave this promise in all sincerity, since nobody at that time dreamed that a few years later Denmark would abandon its traditional neutrality and join an international coalition. But ever since Admiral Brind, the commander-in-chief of NATO's northern flank, announced a few months ago that Allied units would go into the Baltic, the Russian press has been angrily talking about provocation.

The Danish government had other grounds for concern which were unknown to the public. The plan to extend Mainbrace to Bornholm was made without consulting it; its protests when it found out may have caused the decision to send only Danish, Norwegian, and British units into the Baltic and not the presumably more provocative Americans. Moreover, the Danish authorities knew that the Russians had been fortifying the Baltic coast all summer, particularly the island of Ruegen, not far from Bornholm, sending in troops and building sites for rocket-launching. When Mainbrace actually came off, however, the only thing Russian seen in the area was a flying saucer, which may not have been Russian at all but a visitor from Mars. It is true that the American marines who landed on the chilly beaches of northern Jutland found the Russian steamer Kooperatsia anchored smack in the middle of the waters which American vessels were to cross. But as it turned out, she had only sought a lee shore against bad weather, and after a little grumbling left as requested.

The military experts will scarcely divulge what they learned from Operation Mainbrace, but the spectators can draw their own conclusions. The objective was doubtless to discover how the Baltic could be kept closed if West Germany were overrun. There are four outlets from the Baltic which would be vital to the operation of Russian submarines in the Atlantic—the Sound, the Great Belt, the Little Belt, and the Kiel Canal. Denmark is astride two of them and together with Sweden controls the third. The fourth, the Kiel Canal, is in Germany, but the main feature of the operations in Jutland was a push south through Schleswig by Norwegian, Danish, and British forces toward the canal. The American marines were reinforcements for this push. Mainbrace may very well be an indication that Denmark is vital to SHAPE's strategy as a "resistance area" to be held at all costs.

The Danes, who in the last war suffered German occupation though not destruction, would welcome such a strategy, and as soon as the two Jutland airfields of Vandel and Tirstrup have been developed to the standard agreed on at Lisbon, they will be opened to 150 American thunderjets. But that will not be very soon. Danish military sources say between eighteen months and two years must elapse before American planes can be stationed in Denmark.

In 1949 the Soviet Government extracted a promise from Norway that foreign troops would never be stationed on Norwegian territory in peace time. It has now warned Denmark that the projected American bases

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would be regarded as a threat to Russia's security. The establishment of foreign forces on Denmark soil, it asserted, could not be justified on grounds of defense since nobody threatened Denmark. As I write, the Danish government has not yet answered.

For some time after Lisbon the government was reluctant to admit that this plan to make Denmark a safe cork for the Baltic bottle existed. When finally the truth leaked out, the neutralist Radical Party strongly criticized the government for its commitments. But the overwhelming majority of Parliament welcomes the American planes as proof that Denmark will not be abandoned in the event of war. The Socialists are supporting the government on this matter. When they criticize NATO policy, it is rather because they find the armament burden too heavy. In other words, they are more inclined toward Bevanism than neutralism. All political parties agree that the blunders of Mainbrace—the military planning without political consultation—must not be repeated. Nothing happened at Bornholm, it is true, but it is widely believed that this was at least partly due to the caution of the Russians.

Ole Bjorn Kraft, the Danish Foreign Minister, who has now taken over the chairmanship of NATO, replacing Lester Pearson, has emphasized the desirability of closer political-military cooperation. What is in his mind, and what may be proposed at forthcoming NATO meetings, is something like the creation of a NATO political assembly. Kraft is himself a Conservative, but he is supported in his idea by the Norwegian Foreign Minister, Halvard Lange, who is a Socialist. The creation of a supra-national political body inside NATO is being advocated also by members of the British Labor Party and, although more cautiously, by the West German Socialist Party.

Roughly speaking, Western Europe is divided between the mainly Catholic adherents of a federal "Little Europe," consisting of the six countries of the Schuman Plan, and the mainly Protestant partisans of a "Greater European confederation." The latter want NATO to be the umbrella of this confederation. They want to have the United States in it. In largely Protestant countries like Britain, Norway, and Denmark practically all parties favor the idea of an Atlantic political confederation. Denmark particularly has been convinced by Mainbrace that some new political organ for NATO is needed.

Class of '46

MISSOURI

James P. Kem: Valedictorian

BY J. AUSTIN BURKHART

Columbia

THE Senators elected during the meat-shortage days of 1946—Bricker, Cain, Kem, McCarthy, Malone, and their classmates—have left their stamp on each successive Congress. Few groups of entering freshmen have taken such polarized stands on public questions. Extremely conservative on domestic problems and leaning toward narrow nationalism in foreign affairs, these men have attempted to turn back the clock in the fields of social legislation and international cooperation.

Few of them have spent more semester hours in fighting welfare measures and obstructing internationalism than James P. Kem of Missouri. A recent analysis of Senate votes on seventeen important issues in the Eighty-second Congress shows that he took the progressive side just once. His record in opposing international cooperation is unmatched: he voted against the Atlantic Pact, the foreign-aid bill, the Mutual Security Act, the Marshall Plan, the Japanese peace treaty, reciprocal trade agreements, and practically every other bipartisan measure introduced in the Senate in the last six years.

A few months ago Senator Kem might have been selected as the man in his class most likely to succeed, but this summer the Democratic Party in Missouri came up with a blue-ribbon ticket, headed by Phil M. Donnelly and Stuart Symington. Donnelly, a former governor, is again running for that office; Symington defeated J. E. Taylor, President Truman's choice for the senatorial nomination, by more than 185,000 votes.

Kem is campaigning furiously—it is not unusual for him to make six speeches in different towns in a single day—blasting government corruption, high taxation, socialistic decay, and the unconstitutionality of the Korean war. Making a play for the farm vote, he cites his work on the Senate Agriculture Committee, his support of rural electrification appropriations, and his opposition to public-power projects. He says he approves 90 per cent of parity but regards the Brannan plan as the nationalization of agriculture. To him the Taft-Hartley act is the workingman's Bill of Rights, and while he favors the principle of the Social Security Act he opposes the spending of money which is supposed to be kept in a social-security reserve. He assails Symington as a Truman man and suggests that one of the large questions of the campaign is "whether the people of Missouri prefer to be represented by a Missourian, born in

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Missouri, reared to her customs and traditions from boyhood, educated in her schools, or to be represented by this mysterious stranger."

Symington is also waging an energetic campaign. He speaks frequently, with force and with restraint. He is not given to demagoguery and limits name-calling to an occasional reference to "political dinosaurs." He concentrates on issues, tearing holes in Kem's farm record large enough to drive a tractor through. He charges that Kem voted against 90 per cent of parity in 1948 and 1949, opposed appropriations for electrical cooperatives in Minnesota and Wisconsin, and in 1950 voted against funds for the Southwest Power Administration — a measure strongly supported by the Missouri Farmers' Association. His heaviest fire is directed against Kem's reactionary record on foreign policy.

Senator Kem

Kem's fortunes will be affected by the voters' disgust at disclosures of graft and corruption in government, their sense of insecurity and frustration stemming from unsolved foreign problems, and the personal charm of Eisenhower. The scandals in the Internal Revenue Office in St. Louis, the questionable activities of certain Missourians now living in Washington, the stolen-ballots incident in Kansas City, all bring the corruption issue very close to home. Eisenhower's official indorsement is expected during his coming visit to Missouri. Kem has said, however, that John Foster Dulles and General Eisenhower are "coming closer to my opinions than I am to theirs."

While Kem, like all Republicans, must buck prosperity, he faces an even greater obstacle in the caliber of his opponent. Few individuals have done more to remove the taint from the term "Washington bureaucrat" than Symington. His record as Surplus Property Administrator, Secretary of the Air Force, and Administrator of the R. F. C. has given him wide—and favorable—publicity. By his high-level campaign and his pledge to further international cooperation and progressive domestic legislation, Symington is attracting many liberal Republicans and independents.

Missouri's political races have the kick of its legendary mule, and no one but a fool or a newcomer would attempt to predict the outcome this year. Some astute citizens, however, are saying that perhaps James P. Kem, who entered the Senate in 1946, will be flunked out this year.

WASHINGTON

Jackson vs. Cain

By RICHARD L. NEUBERGER

Tacoma

WASHINGTON is one state that Stevenson should win. No other is so responsive to the issues the Democrats have emphasized for a decade—public power, timber conservation, new electro-chemical industries, and statehood for Alaska. In 1948 Truman's majority in Washington exceeded his combined majorities in California, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Wyoming, and Montana.

Stevenson went over well with the Washington electorate on his recent visit. He offered none of the rambling ambiguities which marked Eisenhower's speech at Boise. People left his meeting in Seattle quoting his reminder that the same Republicans who now promise to develop the Northwest once referred to Grand Coulee and Bonneville dams as "white elephants." His chances are further improved by the campaign of Representative Henry M. ("Scoop") Jackson, a veteran of a dozen years in the House, to oust the reactionary Harry P. Cain from the United States Senate. The Indian sign is on Cain so unmistakably that many of his fellow-Republicans hesitate to appear with him at public meetings.

Jackson is well equipped to win. Of Norwegian ancestry in a state where a huge Scandinavian population eats *lefsa* pancakes every Sunday morning, he retained his House seat in the election of 1946, when the meat shortage sent so many Democrats down to defeat. He was a pioneer supporter of Chief Joseph Dam and the Hanford atomic-energy plant, and has the backing of the Grange, the farm co-ops, the public-utility districts, and organized labor.

Cain has behaved as if he had no need of popular support. He has bragged of his relations with the real-estate lobby. He has voted against federal transmission lines in a state with more potential kilowatts to be tapped by the federal government than any other in the nation. He has consistently opposed the aims of organized labor. Conservative Republicans, to whom such acts might commend him, have been repelled by his position on foreign policy. Only Cain and Glen Taylor voted in the Senate against a seventy-group air force.

Often Cain does not seem to know what he thinks. After his return from an overseas trip he told the New York *Times* that he had been "highly impressed with the sense of urgency and determination to resist aggression that he found in all European nations he had visited."

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A month later he was quoted in the Bellingham *Herald* to the effect that only Turkey and Spain had "the will to fight Communist aggression." He threw the MacArthur debate into an uproar by introducing two contradictory resolutions—one calling for the withdrawal of the United States from the Pacific, the other for a declaration of all-out war on China.

Senator Cain

For the new office of Representative-at-large the Republicans have nominated Albert Canwell, who several years ago headed a notorious witch-hunting committee of the Washington legislature. After Ed Guthman of the Seattle *Times* had won a Pulitzer prize by exposing the committee's concealment of evidence which would have exonerated a University of Washington professor from charges of subversion, Canwell was defeated for the state senate, but he has now reentered politics as the recipient of a Congressional nomination from his party.

Sharing interest with the senatorial contest is the close race between Governor Arthur B. Langlie and his Democratic opponent, the scholarly and sincere Representative Hugh Mitchell of Seattle. General Eisenhower owes a large debt to Langlie for the services rendered by the Washington state delegation at the Republican National Convention and will undoubtedly campaign for him. This will increase the odds against Mitchell, but it will also make it hard for Eisenhower to avoid association with Senator Cain.

Jackson's chances are considered better than Mitchell's principally because Cain is so vulnerable. Langlie has a fiscal and budgetary mess on his hands, but he blames this on the administration of former Governor Mon Wallgren. Since Mitchell has fewer independent sources of strength than Jackson, his success will probably depend on Stevenson's sweeping the state. From conversations with many Washington voters, it seems evident that the Presidential contest narrows down to the question whether Stevenson's logical and persuasive speeches can offset the widespread desire for a change.

IF A candidate's performance can prove decisive, Stevenson will win the electoral votes of the Columbia Basin states. The great trouble is that he is not yet well known. Loggers and lumberjacks say they will vote for Ike or they say they will vote Democratic; few mention Stevenson by name. The Republicans picture him as a panty-waist, a cookie-pusher, a refugee from the diplomatic corps. Testimony on the other side has been offered by a retired United States forester, John Kuhns, who once went mountain-climbing with Stevenson, and who says that the Governor was "all man" on the flank of a 10,000-foot peak. Stevenson badly needs identification with the Western outdoors, and his headquarters should have played up Kuhn's story.

The Northwest, by and large, has been Democratic terrain since 1932, and Democratic strength should be increased by the recent influx of low-income migrants. But Stevenson will need to make substantial gains before November to overcome his famous adversary's lead in the region. The essential thing is to dramatize him to voters on the $3,000-a-year level. These people already sense three weaknesses in Eisenhower: (1) he is a professional military man; (2) he may be insincere in his pledges; (3) his New York speech to the American Legion advocating the liberation of the satellite nations suggested that he might lead the country into a land war in Europe.

The other day a Nisei truck gardener asked me how Ike could reduce taxes if he was going to give us two mail deliveries a day and 100 per cent of parity for farmers. Once the sincerity of a candidate is questioned, all his statements are received with skepticism.

INDIANA

Jenner vs. Schricker

BY ARTHUR ZINKIN, JR., AND BOB LONG

Indianapolis

INDIANA has always taken its politics seriously. In the contest for the Senate between the incumbent, William E. Jenner, and his opponent, twice-elected Governor Henry F. Schricker, the voters have a crucial decision to make. At forty-four Bill Jenner is probably the oldest young man in the Senate, standing considerably to the right of Senator Taft on both foreign and domestic issues. Henry F. Schricker, at sixty-nine, is a conservative who nevertheless has supported both the Roosevelt and Truman administrations on most issues. The state Republican organization, controlled by Jenner, stood pat for Taft at Chicago, refusing to switch its votes to Ike; the state Democratic organization, controlled by Schricker, led the fight for Stevenson.

Both men are outstanding vote getters. Despite the fact that he was in the air force and did not campaign,

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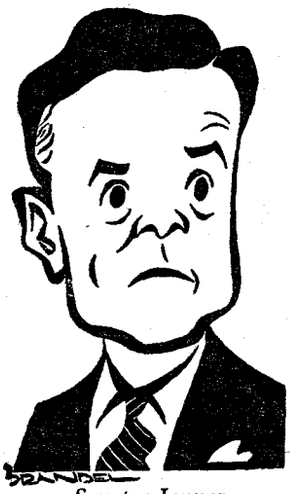
Jenner was elected by 82,000 votes in 1944 to fill the unexpired term of the late Senator Van Nuys. In 1946 he won reelection by nearly 160,000 votes and cemented his hold on the state organization.

No one can accuse Schricker of corruption, old cronies in high places, or socialism. He is a moderate Democrat of unimpeachable party regularity, a small-town banker who holds strong views on nothing but the honest and decent conduct of his office. He is the only man to be elected governor of Indiana for two terms. In 1940 he was the only Democrat elected to state office—he won by 4,000; Roosevelt lost the state by 25,000. In 1944 he ran for the Senate against Homer Capehart and lost by 22,000, while F. D. R. was beaten by 94,000. In 1948 he was reelected governor by 140,000; Truman lost to Dewey by 14,000.

Jenner is convinced that the people of Indiana are disgusted with Truman, horrified by the Korean "meat grinder" war, opposed to universal military training, appalled by taxes and inflation. His speeches abound in phrases like "blood money," "Washington plunderbund," and "the Truman Double Deal." He agrees with General Eisenhower on one point, that Truman has no foreign policy; he advocates "removing the crutch in Europe and Asia" and demands that we defend our hemisphere with air and naval bases rather than United Nations forces. In domestic affairs he dwells on "wasteful bureaucracy," the "trend to socialism," and "Communists in government." Labor considers him a top foe.



Senator Jenner

Eisenhower pointedly failed to mention Jenner, the man who called General Marshall "a living lie" and "a front man for traitors," when he asked the voters of Indiana to elect the Republican ticket "from top to bottom." Jenner however, hastened to thank Ike for "your unqualified indorsement of my candidacy." Jenner did not modify his position to obtain Eisenhower's so-called indorsement; his "nationalism" remains clear-cut as an issue. It is Ike's position on foreign policy that appears to be watered down in the minds of the voters.

Schricker considers foreign policy the principal issue of the state campaign and is stressing the fact that "there can be no domestic stability without international stability." He advocates strengthening NATO and the United Nations and is expected to follow party leadership on Point Four proposals. He supports the Fair Deal line on all domestic issues, such as repeal of Taft-Hartley, civil rights, and farm parity.

A recent Midwest survey poll gives Schricker 43 per cent of the vote to 38 per cent for Jenner, with 19 per cent undecided, and the general opinion is that Schricker will win even if Eisenhower carries the state. Republican headquarters, however, were heartened by Senator McCarthy's stunning victory in Wisconsin and say that their man too has his finger on the people's pulse.

UTAH

Battle of the Regulars

BY E. L. HESS

Salt Lake City

THE Senatorial contest in Utah lost some of its interest for the nation as a whole when the Republican primary in September eliminated Marriner S. Eccles, the salty, fighting banker who served as chairman of the Federal Reserve Board in both the Roosevelt and the Truman administrations. Eccles was defeated by the colorless, plodding, ultra-isolationist Arthur Vivian Watkins. The Democratic nominee is the equally colorless, Walter Kiel Granger, who for the past twelve years has been an all-out supporter of the New Deal and Fair Deal in the lower house.

Watkins is a member of the notorious Class of 1946 in the Senate, and his voting record closely parallels that of Jenner, Kem, Cain, and Bricker. But he is a tireless legman for his constituents and abandons his conservative economic views when it is a question of pork and pap for the good people of Utah. As a member of the Senate Judiciary Committee and its so-called internal-security subcommittee, he is an ardent follower of Pat McCarran. He also agrees with McCarthy that Washington is full of reds.

Like the whole Utah Republican machine, Watkins was and is pro-Taft. He fought a one-man battle against the North Atlantic Security Pact in 1949, opposed giving military assistance to nations threatened by communism, and joined McCarran in insisting on aid for Franco Spain. His voting record—90 per cent with the Republican leadership—earned him mention by Colonel McCormick as Vice-Presidential material when the Colonel called for an isolationist third party last summer.

Watkins and Granger have similar small-town backgrounds. Watkins served for years as a district judge, and Granger is a farmer-stockman who was postmaster and three times mayor of Cedar City. Both are devout Mormons. The Mormon church hierarchy, managing more than a billion dollars' worth of real and other property in Utah, is staunchly conservative. Though it

E. L. HESS is the pseudonym of a well-known Western political analyst.

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was bailed out by the New Deal in the 1930's, it is violently anti-Truman and thus has no use for Granger.

Granger represents twenty-five of Utah's twenty-nine counties, but he is handicapped by being relatively unknown in metropolitan Salt Lake City, which contains about a third of the state's population. His strength lies in his identification with agricultural interests and his ability to reconcile the demands of Utah farmers, stockmen, and small business men with those of labor and government employees. He has tried to settle the public-land controversy, worked hard to obtain reclamation funds for Utah, and sponsored bills to develop mining in the state.

The so-called "Young Turks," whose efforts to corral delegates for Eisenhower at the Utah Republican convention were said to have been defeated by the intervention of the Mormon church, supported Eccles's bid for the senatorial nomination. With Eccles out of the running and Eisenhower bargaining with the Taft isolationists, the independent Utah vote might go to Stevenson and Granger if the Democrats put up a good fight, but so far they have shown no signs of doing so.

The Weapon of Fear

BY WILLIAM T. EVJUE

[For its brilliant clarification of a vital issue in America today we reprint, in slightly condensed form, an address given in New York on September 25 by William T. Evjue, on the occasion of the presentation of the Sidney Hillman awards in journalism and non-fiction. Mr. Evjue is editor and publisher of the Madison, Wisconsin, Capital Times.*]*

THIS is indeed genial company for one who comes out of the gloom and humiliation that lie so heavily over a once proud state—a state that in more favorable decades had gained world renown as the ideal commonwealth. It is appalling to see a great state surrender to hysteria and demagoguery after holding fast to sanity and reason for so many years. I wish I could have come here today to tell you that the heritage left by such crusaders for the common welfare as John P. Altgeld, William Jennings Bryan, George W. Norris, and Robert M. La Follette still inspires the people in the Midwest hinterland. Honesty, however, compels a different answer.

It is good to know that men still gather to do honor to a gallant soul who fought so valorously to bring a better life to more people—Sidney Hillman. He occupied a leading role in the great battle to embody in the law of the land the monumental social gains of the past twenty years. If he were alive today he would be deeply concerned over the dim outlines of totalitarianism appearing on the American horizon, emboldened by the fear rampant in American life today.

The use of fear as a weapon in subduing the aspirations of the American people for a better life is not new. Fear has always been so used in the struggle between those who have too much and those who have too little. Chronically allergic to the yearnings of the people for a better life, the intrenched order has always fallen back on the weapon of fear to drive the American people toward subserviency and conformity. It has always been on the lookout for new scare words.

Perhaps this assembly will be interested in a historical review of the vocabulary of fear encountered in one lifetime, now nearing three score years and ten. The start of the story is in the little lumbering town of Merrill in northern Wisconsin. In my boyhood days eight big sawmills there were manned by German, Scandinavian, and French Canadian immigrants. They worked eleven hours a day, six days a week. There was a heavy toll of death and injury—human life was cheaper than safety appliances. In the winter the men went into logging camps, fifty to seventy of them being lodged in a primitive and unsanitary bunk house. In the spring the hospitals all along the Wisconsin River were filled with men from the camps suffering from typhoid, smallpox, or some other contagious disease.

The inevitable revolt came. An organizer for the old Knights of Labor was brought in to lead the strike. The strike leader was branded as an agitator, a Socialist. The workers were told that the mill owners couldn't afford an increase—that the men would be without jobs and Merrill would become a ghost town. The mill owners used this fear to compel a settlement under which the men won the measly victory of eleven hours' pay for ten hours' work. Today Merrill is a prosperous community; it accepted the socialism of collective bargaining long ago without becoming a ghost town. But the intrenched order way back in 1892 had discovered socialism as a scare word.

The next chapter starts with my arrival as a cub reporter at the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* after exploring the academic cloisters of the University of Wisconsin. This was in 1905, when a new social-democratic movement was challenging a corrupt political machine that had long dominated Milwaukee. The *Sentinel,* spokesman for the machine, was painting a horrendous picture of the

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dangers of socialism, quite as frightening as the Hearst and McCormick scare talk about the New Deal socialism of today. The stolid citizens of the beer metropolis were told that socialism would bring free love, nationalization of property, and the division of wealth.

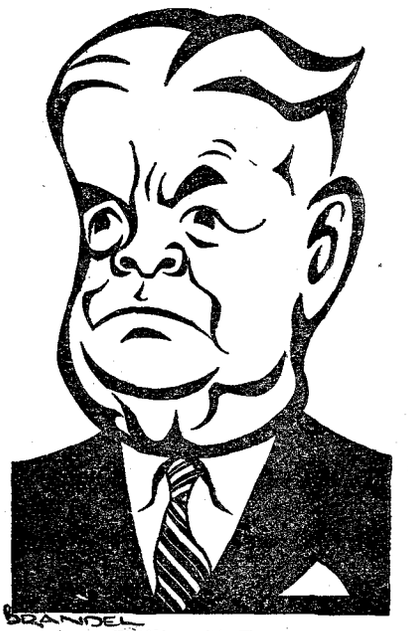
But the people of Milwaukee saw through the machine's use of fear. They elected a Socialist mayor. Under three Socialist mayors—Emil Seidel, Dan Hoan, and Frank Zeidler—Milwaukee gained the reputation of being the best-governed large city in the United States. Frank Zeidler was recently reelected mayor by the people in all parties who favor good government.

THE year 1912 found me sitting on the stage at the Republican National Convention in Chicago as a reading clerk. The situation was so tense that the chairman of the convention had to appeal to the delegates to restore order after they had booed and hissed the Wisconsin Declaration of Principle. I was within a few feet of Senator Hopkins of Illinois, chairman of the committee on resolutions, when he contemptuously moved the rejection of the Wisconsin platform on the ground that it was rank socialism which would destroy our American system. The platform contained twenty-six planks, twenty-four of which were enacted into law in the next twenty-five years and became good Republican and Democratic doctrine. Incidentally, a plank that was hissed and booed the loudest favored giving women the right to vote.

In 1918 the word pro-Germanism was added to the vocabulary of fear. Senator La Follette was opposed to a declaration of war against Germany. The intrenched order gleefully grabbed this opportunity to destroy the hated La Follette movement and its social program. La Follette was branded pro-German, disloyal, and a traitor. Many of his followers were arrested under the espionage act. The newly started *Capital Times* was tagged a La Follette paper and marked for destruction; the state Council of Defense, manned by old La Follette foes, instituted an advertising boycott that lasted for nearly a year. We were denied election to the local Chamber of Commerce. The Department of Justice sent an investigator to Madison to keep us under surveillance. Members of the university faculty, in fear of losing their jobs, signed a round-robin letter urging the expulsion of La Follette from the United States Senate.

In 1918 it was believed that La Follette and his movement had been forever destroyed. But isn't there hope today in the fact that the American people always seem to return to sanity after their periodic journeys into the realm of fear and hysteria? In 1922 La Follette was reelected to the Senate by an overwhelming majority.

Today communism has become the scare word with which the intrenched order can club the American people into submission and conformity. Millions of people have



William T. Evjue

been deprived of the right of free speech by their fear of being branded disloyal. The press, radio, television, and movies have cringed before the assault on the printed and spoken word. Confidence in the government has been threatened by the shadow of disloyalty cast over honest and conscientious officials. A campaign of hate, suspicion, distrust, confusion, and character assassination has been loosed at a time when there is a great need for unity, confidence, and a united front to meet a world menace.

This has been made possible, in large part, by the consummate demagoguery of the Senator from my state. In 1949 he knew that he was a dead duck politically unless he could find some way to divert the attention of the people from his miserable record. It was then, on the advice of shrewd friends in Washington, that he decided to ride the issue of communism. Ever since, he has been fiercely using the accusation of communism to throw doubt on the loyalty of those who have dared to criticize his record. I am proud to say that the *Capital Times* has been first on his list of proscribed newspapers. You know the record—the $10,000 from Lustron, the $20,000 wangled out of a sugar lobbyist to support McCarthy's $72,000 loan from a Wisconsin bank, the $5,000 contribution from a Texas oil millionaire (McCarthy voted for the Kerr gas and the tidelands oil bills). Isn't it strange that 500,000 citizens in Wisconsin voted for a man who has had to be prodded to pay taxes to support the government that has supported him during the major part of his adult life? Isn't it appalling to think that a man with his record is being accepted by millions of people as the leader who will save us from communism?

COMMUNISM is a problem that will not be solved by any scheming politician on an un-American committee seeking a headline in the afternoon edition by plastering some innocent person with the label of Communist. It will not be solved by chucking a few Communists into jail. Reason must supplant demagoguery in meeting this problem.

If communism ever comes to this country, do you know where it will come from? Another depression. Communism will come when millions of people are

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hungry and out of a job, when millions of farms and homes are being lost through mortgage foreclosures, and when business is paralyzed because people do not have the money with which to buy the necessities of life. This is what Moscow is banking on. Stalin knows that mass hunger and poverty have always been the allies of communism in its parade across the face of the earth.

It was the centuries-old exploitation of the masses by a corrupt nobility that brought communism to Russia. It was the centuries of landlordism, colonialism, corruption, and the accompanying mass poverty that brought communism to China. If all there is to this problem of communism is to expose and put in jail the Communists who have wormed themselves into places in government, how is the growth of communism in Italy, under the shadow of the Vatican, to be explained? It is to be explained by hunger, poverty, and denial of land to millions of peasants. Why aren't we willing to accept what we know is a fact—that a social revolution has been sweeping over the world during the past thirty years? The Communists were smart enough to get on the side of the people in this great revolutionary struggle.

The future safety of this country lies with a patriotic, constructive, informed leadership holding to the idea that the best insurance against communism is the well-fed, well-housed, reasonably secure American family. The demagogues who have appropriated the issue of communism to serve their political ends—McCarthy, Hickenlooper, Jenner, Cain, Byrd, and others in the Republican-Dixiecrat coalition—are poor reeds to lean on in a fight against communism. Such men will always vote on the side of the powerful special interests. They can be depended upon to vote against all measures to make life better for more people—protection against dependency in old age, unemployment, and occupational hazards, protection for their life savings, decent housing, medical care at a price they can afford, farm-price supports, the blessings of electricity on the farm, the right of labor to bargain for a fair share of the wealth it helps to create, and the extension of educational opportunity. Have you ever seen any evidence of devotion to this type of insurance against communism on the part of McCarthy, Jenner, and their interest-serving colleagues in the Senate?

Kurt Schumacher

BY CAROLUS

Bonn

THE name of Kurt Schumacher was known to only a few Germans when Hitler's Third Reich collapsed. The radio announcement of his sudden death, on August 21, plunged the whole country into gloom. Few men have been buried with so many tears as this leader of the Social Democratic Party of West Germany.

One of the most important figures of post-war Europe, Schumacher was a miracle of energy and will in a broken body. He worked without pause from six o'clock in the morning to midnight. He hurried from one meeting to another. He often followed a debate in Parliament for twelve hours straight. He drove his party tirelessly toward higher and higher goals. One of his severest political enemies, the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, organ of the government and of big business, said of him when he died: "Germany has lost a sentinel who watched ceaselessly over the country and signaled whenever he saw danger. No one can think of his empty post without uneasiness. Something of his courage and passion and honesty must remain alive in Parliament if this nation is to survive."

For Schumacher the glittering façade of West Germany's economic prosperity and physical reconstruction could not hide the shakiness of an edifice which rested on the increasing poverty of the masses. He saw very clearly that the defense of West Germany was in the first place a social problem, and that the Communist danger could not be countered by machine-guns. A docile press at home and abroad decried his opposition to German remilitarization and the European strategy of the Western Allies as grist for the Soviet mill, but on his death it acknowledged that the Soviet Union would stand today on the Rhine if he and the party he founded had not refused to make a deal with the German Communists.

He had taken this stand as a patriot and a democrat whose maimed body was a living charge against all dictatorships. He was anything but a pacifist, and was opposed to remilitarization because he saw that it would perpetuate the division of Germany and make a third world war a dangerously close possibility. He also saw remilitarization as an insuperable obstacle to German democracy, since it would bring the militarists to power. In a third world war, he felt sure, Germany would become another Korea.

His struggle for the workers' right to share in the direction of industry was a struggle to take power from those whom he rightly held responsible for National

CAROLUS is the pseudonym of The Nation's *correspondent in West Germany.*

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Socialism, Hitler, and the Second World War. His fight for German unity was a fight for European unity. The division of Germany represented for him the division of Europe and of the world. He believed that every opportunity to negotiate with the Russians should be seized—otherwise there would be no Germany and no Europe. The Schuman Plan for the control of European heavy industry, like the Strasbourg Council of Europe, seemed to him to be a parody of a true united Europe and bound to destroy any hope of a peaceful solution of the East-West conflict. The men whom he most feared and distrusted were the big European industrialists who were using the idea of European unity to create a capitalist and imperialist "Europe, Inc." As for the Saar, he did not want to offer it to German nationalism as a weapon which it would use sooner or later against France. On the other hand, if the Saar, which is 100 per cent German, were to be separated from Germany, he feared that Russia would never return the lost eastern provinces.

As a Socialist, Schumacher was a convinced European. The only picture in his office in the federal Parliament was a photograph of Léon Blum. I can still see him sitting alone in a dark corner of the Parliament lobby crying like a child over the passing of the great Frenchman.

IT IS unfortunate that Schumacher often offended by his nationalist tone. His tempestuous personality, his premonition of a disaster which he was trying desperately to prevent, and his knowledge of his approaching death drove him into hasty outbursts which later no one regretted more than he. Within his armor beat an exceptionally kind and sensitive heart.

Both his heart and his head were stirred by any instance of ill-treatment or injustice. Nothing shows this more clearly than his concern with the problems of Jews. However overloaded with work he was, he always had time for their troubles, and he is known never to have refused to meet a Jewish petitioner. Time and again he openly acknowledged the shame of the German people for the crimes they had committed against the Jews. In his first great speech in Parliament he demanded that they be given moral and material compensation, and he and his party initiated the Hague negotiations without which Adenauer, for all his good-will, would have never brought it about. Jewish restitution, however, was the only question on which Schumacher saw eye to eye with the Adenauer government. He supported the Parliament's expert on Jewish matters, the Social Democratic deputy Jakob Altmayer, with all his authority.

Schumacher's undisputed successor is his friend and lieutenant, the fifty-two-year-old Erich Ollenhauer, a wise and capable man who will not abandon the course plotted by his dead leader. The struggle within the Social Democratic opposition will be for the post of deputy leader, hitherto held by Ollenhauer. The Socialist mayors of Berlin, Hamburg, Bremen, Munich, and other towns, as well as some trade-union leaders, differed with Schumacher on various subjects and will now try to make their views prevail. No Social Democratic politician left over from the Weimar period had any power in the party while Schumacher was alive. He had fought them before 1933, and he never forgot the flabby and disastrous opportunism they had practiced. Tendencies similar to those he combated before 1933 are now operating again in the German Social Democracy, but there will be no serious departures from the Schumacher policy before the next elections, in the summer of 1953. If remilitarization is carried out against the will of the strongest German party, it will have no popular basis and will be imposed on the country by the shameful dictatorship of the Western powers acting through German big business and former Nazi officers.

The Prussian Protestantism of Schumacher and his frequent outbursts of hatred against the Catholic clericalism of Adenauer played a part in the relationship between government and opposition which should not be overlooked. In his tragic grandeur Schumacher resembled the sixteenth-century Protestant revolutionary Thomas Münzer, who was burned at the stake when he lost his fight for social change and German freedom. After Münzer came the Thirty Years' War, which inflicted upon the Germans spiritual wounds as yet unhealed. After Schumacher, what? One thing is certain: the struggle epitomized by the conflict between Schumacher and Adenauer will go on. The federal Chancellor has already committed one tactical error. The whole nation was roused to bitter resentment when he pointedly stayed away from the funeral of his great opponent.

Schumacher on the German Workers

April, 1948

More than a mere policy of anti-communism is needed to defeat world communism in Germany. We must succeed in arousing the self-confidence of German workers and inspire the conviction that as a result of their struggles they will be able themselves to determine the political and economic structure of their country. Without American aid there would be the imminent danger that Europe would fall into the hands of the Soviets. The ideological and political situation in Europe and in Germany, however, is as different from that of the United States as is the economic setup. The common link is democracy. The workers of Germany will defend democracy. But they are not willing to fight for capitalism. The experience of the last decades has shown that in Germany, and throughout Central and Western Europe as well, democracy must have socialist results to insure its successful existence.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

Contemporary Fable

HEMLOCK AND AFTER. By Angus Wilson. The Viking Press. $3.

ACCORDING to the *Listener,* the house organ of the B. B. C., "Hemlock and After" establishes Angus Wilson "immediately" as "the most important English novelist to come forward since the late war." This is no great praise. The most important English novelists today — Joyce Cary, Henry Green, and Ivy Compton-Burnett—had all "come forward" before the war, and the better younger writers, book after book, remain promising. "Hemlock and After" is the serious novel of a gifted amateur. It is rich in conversation and characters and deficient in action. What was meant to be its central theme is never realized as fiction. In this country it may become fashionable, for it is often determinedly sophisticated and is very amusing.

The time is the summer of 1951; the unhappy hero is the grand old man—he is fifty-seven—of English letters, the novelist Bernard Sands. After much effort he has completed what turns out to be his last work, the establishment of Vardon Hall, a Georgian country house, as a refuge where a selected group of state-subsidized young writers are to set up an autonomous community and pursue their art. At the beginning there is much talk about this undertaking by politicians, by artists, and by the graceless Vardon commuters who have succeeded the squirearchy. And then, because Mr. Wilson seems to lose interest in it, the whole matter fades from view.

For the novel is less about Vardon Hall than about the decline and fall of Bernard Sands. All his life he has thought of himself, using the terms of his Bloomsbury youth, as a humorist and an anarchist. So advanced are his views on education that he has completely alienated his children; he has been so successful in his role of great author that he has driven his wife into a long nervous collapse. During her illness he has followed hitherto neglected impulses and turned to young men. As an amateur sociologist Mr. Wilson analyzes the strata and codes of homosexual society brilliantly; his picture of this society is witty and malicious.

Sands learns slowly that in acting to gratify the senses and the affections he has damaged his lovers and his family: the tormented wife, the stuffy son, the nasty daughter-in-law, and the bright, bored daughter. The rationalizations which have carried him through two love affairs collapse before his increasing concern with the problem of evil. His sense of the terrible responsibility of love and his knowledge that his humanism has not made him a responsible human being destroy him. The wages of irresponsibility is death. These matters were to have been the center of the novel; they never become fiction, though they are stated, one way and another, again and again.

The minor characters, a wonderful series of grotesques, are distracting: an old woman, all sweetness and light, who has built up a going concern which supplies suitable sexual objects to people with esoteric sexual tastes; her accomplice, the archetype of the spiv; a prissy architect driven by a passion for little girls; and so on. The relation between a foreground in a state of disintegration and this corrupt background is only intellectual. The major characters exist on a level of thought and feeling to which the grotesques cannot aspire. They were intended to play important roles in the fable, but they turn out to be local color.

The action proceeds by fits and starts. The end—Mr. Wilson, with his tongue in his cheek, is imitating Dickens—is weak. After Bernard's death his wife, Ella, cloistered for years with her private horrors, emerges in a frenzy of action to mete out justice and to tie up the loose ends of the plot. It is made clear that some of this justice is cruel or futile and that the neatly tied-up ends will presently come loose. But a serious moral is drawn from this easy resolution: mad Ella, alone, is able to save herself. *Her* humanism, however limited, has not failed her. The life devoted to the cultivation of the intellect and the pursuit of the arts ends, by contrast, in dust and ashes, a dangerous conclusion the implications of which Mr. Wilson does not explore.

Two final comments: unlike much current English fiction, with its nostalgia for amenities which vanished in 1939, "Hemlock and After" is emphatically about the present; it portrays magnificently a middle class trapped by rapid and, for it, catastrophic moral and social change. More important, it marks the advent of new elements in Mr. Wilson's writing. His collections of short stories, "The Wrong Set" and "Such Darling Dodos," however entertaining, read as if they had been written chiefly out of dislike and nausea. In this novel dislike and nausea abound, but they are tempered by feeling and compassion. Considering the dead end to which the short stories appeared to be leading, this change in attitude toward the human predicament is impressive.

ERNEST JONES

Yoknapatawpha County

WILLIAM FAULKNER. By Irving Howe. Random House. $3.

IRVING HOWE'S literary criticism—he has written other kinds—has always been, not sociological in the academic sense, but socially oriented; that is, he has been very much aware of the social values of literature and of the interrelationships among art, the artist, and society. He has been more closely allied to those American critics who believe that literature is most meaningful when it is viewed as an activity complementary to our social, political, and historical processes than to those who insist that a poem or a story should be analyzed primarily in terms of its own structure and language. It may seem strange, then, that he should choose to write about William Faulkner, an author whose experiments with form and language and whose highly imaginative subject matter have made him seem about as "literary" as a writer could be.

Yet Mr. Howe is most effective pre-

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cisely when he brings his method of social analysis to bear upon Faulkner's subject-matter. He looks at Yoknapatawpha County and the people whom Faulkner has put there to live, suffer, and die as if it were a real place and they real people, existing independently of their creator. What he finds, of course, is a world that would be unbearable; none of us could live there for one day and keep his sanity. But at the same time it is a world that is extraordinarily complete in its structure of classes and social types. Almost every condition of man in modern America is represented. From Yoknapatawpha one infers the South, and there is no question that Faulkner has been largely concerned with the predicament of the Southern states during the endless aftermath of the Civil War. But inevitably also it is more, just as is Joyce's Dublin or Kipling's jungle. Whatever Faulkner has had to say about the world in our century, he has put into the fictional world of Yoknapatawpha.

Through his analysis of the relationships among the classes, families, and social types of Yoknapatawpha, Mr. Howe has been able to construct a fairly comprehensive view of Faulkner's social and moral attitudes. Such a construction is always provisional of course, especially so in this case, since Faulkner is a living and still vigorously creative author. Mr. Howe is scrupulous in his recognition of this and also of the fact that he is dealing with fiction, not philosophy, that Faulkner is a novelist, not a moralist or social scientist. But Mr. Howe still achieves a number of illuminating surmises. His section on Faulkner's attitude toward the Negro, and on how this attitude developed from the rudimentary prejudgment of the first novels, is particularly good. His analysis of the dramatic uses to which Faulkner has put the disintegration of Southern culture shows a consistent and well-integrated interpretation of character and incident throughout these complex novels.

Faulkner is not a great novelist, and Mr. Howe's book is certainly not great criticism. But both are important to the program of contemporary American letters. Faulkner, though he does not quite enter the first rank, is perhaps our best novelist; in spite of his crudities and misjudgments, he has written several superb novels; he has shown above all that this country can sustain the serious and consistent artistic treatment of a native subject. Mr. Howe's book is important because it gives us some aspects of Faulkner's achievement as a specifically American novelist, working with the materials provided by this society. Where Mr. Howe fails—in his rather stale reading of some of the novels, in his insensitivity to various matters of style, in his apparent reluctance to go far enough in defining or placing Faulkner's inadequate moral attitudes—his failures are obvious and regrettable, and undoubtedly the reviewers will be at pains to point them out. But this book contributes a valuable comment on Faulkner's work, and it illustrates the direction in which American criticism should proceed—toward the retrieval and cultivation of our chief intellectual heritage, a creative and independent liberalism.

HAYDEN CARRUTH

F. D. R.—An Intimate View

WORKING WITH ROOSEVELT. By Samuel I. Rosenman. Harper and Brothers. $6.

RUNNING for Governor of New York in 1928, Franklin Roosevelt sought an assistant familiar with state issues who might help him in the preparation of campaign speeches. It was his good fortune then to discover Samuel I. Rosenman, a young Assemblyman who was to stand by his side faithfully for the next seventeen years. For part of that period Judge Rosenman acted as counsel to the Governor and President; mostly his services were unofficial.

Those services were essentially the same in 1945 as they had been in 1928. Rosenman was one of a team that aided Roosevelt in the preparation of his addresses and that indirectly helped him in the clarification of his own ideas. From time to time the membership of the team changed; in and out of it there moved successively Raymond Moley, Stanley High, Thomas Corcoran, Ben Cohen, Harry Hopkins, Robert Sherwood, and Archibald MacLeish. But Rosenman served the longest and was surely not outmatched in his devotion. He is preeminently qualified to tell the story of that collaboration.

Judge Rosenman has already collected and edited, in thirteen volumes, the public papers and addresses of Franklin Roosevelt. Those speeches were immensely important. The contemporary politicians who were always being surprised by the potency of Roosevelt's appeal never understood that these were his true secret weapons. These were the media through which the Governor and President established a close rapport with public opinion; these were the instruments through which he held the support of his following.

The composition of these speeches was no simple matter. In an era when every Presidential statement had an immediate nation-wide audience of millions, each utterance had to be carefully planned. While the burdens of the Presidency were themselves weightier than ever before, the chief magistrate had also to find time for frequent, fresh reports to those upon whose loyalty he counted. In good measure, Roosevelt's strength lay in his capacity to draw upon a variety of talents, to use other men's minds to create speeches that were nevertheless uniquely his own. "Working with Roosevelt" presents a careful account of the day-to-day process by which these addresses were composed, and is therefore a most illuminating study of F. D. R. and of the way in which his policies were formulated.

As an intimate of the White House, Rosenman has also a good deal to say about the inner aspects of the Roosevelt Administrations. There are interesting glimpses of the official family life of the Roosevelt circle and occasional revealing comments upon larger events, such as the struggle over the vice-presidential nomination of 1944. Fortunately Rosenman scrupulously separates that which he saw from that which he heard at second hand, and the work is impressive in its authority and integrity.

This is avowedly a partisan book. Judge Rosenman could not have maintained the intimacy of his relationship with F. D. R. had he not shared fully the social and political viewpoint of the President. Every chapter of his book is suffused with the certainty that F. D. R. was, despite minor foibles, a great President and a great human being.

These judgments certainly do not de-

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tract from the value of the work; indeed, they lend it conviction and feeling. But the author's closeness to its central character does blur the perspectives in the book. Reading, one has the impression that the Roosevelt who greeted Rosenman in Algiers in 1945 was altogether the same Roosevelt who had met him on the Hoboken ferry in 1928. So, too, the basic philosophy and fundamental social objectives of the New Deal are treated as if they remained constant through the whole of those seventeen years.

They did not. As each successive crisis presented its own challenge, each in turn evoked its own response. The rapid development of domestic legislation in these years and the swift shifts in foreign policy were not the products of theories held a priori but of the pressure of events which few foresaw. And the attitudes of the men who created the New Deal changed just as did the laws in which those attitudes were embodied. Perhaps some day Judge Rosenman will stand back from the exciting incidents of the period and give us an account of the evolution of those attitudes as valuable as this account of how they found their way into F. D. R.'s speeches.

OSCAR HANDLIN

Corruption in Washington

DEMOCRACY. An American Novel. By Henry Adams. Farrar, Strauss and Young. $3.50.

IN A political year what better reading than "Democracy," which goes as lightly, as epigrammatically, as wickedly, in 1952 as it did when first published in 1880 under the absurd name, Frances Snow Compton?

On democracy: "Democracy, rightly understood, is the government of the people, by the people, for the benefit of Senators." On monkeys and evolution: "'After all, we ought to be grateful to them, for what would men do in this melancholy world if they had not inherited gaiety from the monkeys—as well as oratory.'" On George Washington: "'The truth is that General Washington was a rawboned country farmer, very hard-featured, very awkward, very illiterate, and very dull; very bad tempered, very profane, and generally tipsy after dinner.'" On women: "The capacity of women to make unsuitable marriages must be considered as the corner-stone of society."

The book begins fliply, the plot is contrived, the characters are not sufficiently involved in the action, and some of the circumstances creak ever so slightly with age—but all this is a shadow. The main force is still there, since the author was concerned more with satire and thesis than with the art of the novel.

The scene is Washington, D. C., in the middle seventies, when a newly elected President from the Middle West had come into the city to await his inauguration. The action is both public and private. Publicly it follows the subduing of the pathetic President to the party boss. Privately it follows the career of a new leader of Washington society, Madeleine Lee, and her high-minded attempt to delve into the heart of democracy.

Mrs. Lee is a success; and she meets a variety of diplomats, Congressmen, and Cabinet members, giddy belles and grim hostesses, lobbyists and observers. Most important for her, she meets Silas P. Ratcliffe, the Senator from Illinois, the Prairie Giant of Peonia. Ratcliffe is a man used to running Presidents, and subduing the new one is his natural kind of work. He is, however, a little weary of his own soiled hands, and he decides that if he married Mrs. Lee, he could use her culture and money to disguise the dirt in which he works. Madeleine is fascinated by a mover of power, as she conceives Ratcliffe to be, and despite the differences of background, education, and taste is drawn to the politician.

The turning point of the story is the moment when Madeleine finds that she no longer dominates the boorish Prairie Giant, but that he, massive, crude, and monumentally clever in practical management, has begun to manage her, involving her in his own corruption.

The means by which Madeleine is pulled out of her dilemma—a letter delivered in the nick of time exposing a rather too brutal piece of senatorial corruption—seems a letdown after the genuine development of the two central characters. Madeleine declines too patly, too rationally; the story ends at just the point Adams's contemporary, James,

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would have clenched the attention—the confrontation and conflict of two vitally clashing personalities.

With our hindsight we can see Adams himself in Madeleine's story. He is letting us in on his own fascination with Washington, corruption and all; letting us see the way he deceived himself into thinking he took the place impersonally, coolly, scientifically; letting us see his double-edged rejection of it. At the time he wrote "Democracy" Adams sheered off from treating in depth the implications of the ideas on democracy, on corruption, on majority government which he raised in the book. He would take them up again, compulsively, symphonically, in both the "History" and the "Education" when he was better able to treat them.

Yet, ending the book as he did in a kind of evasion of his problem, he made an early statement which can interest us yet. It can be read on two levels—for what it tells us of Washington and corruption, and for what it tells us of Henry Adams and his run-in with the political life.

The great themes of the future books here merely decorate a highly amusing and sensuous impression of a small, bright, bad, and agreeable capital city, perfectly recognizable in 1952. Yet "Democracy" has all the virtues of its brilliant surface. There are pages of quotable conversation; there are less frequent excursions into somber comment. There are occasional descriptive passages of real beauty. The landscape of the District was one that Adams loved; its unforgettable features continually intrude, and confuse the satire with affection and regret. In the center is the small square with General Jackson on his prancing horse; near by, the river, the dome, and the monument; and just outside, within easy reach, the luxuriant Virginia woods, Arlington, Mount Vernon, and the soft and shattered ruin of the South.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON

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Two series of *The Nation* are now available on highest quality microfilm for libraries. Vols. 1 through 105 (1865-1917), $350, (companion to index of unsigned articles published by the New York Public Library). Vols. 1 through 167 (1865-1948), $700. Write for complete information.

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Cornerstone of American Ballet

THE CLASSIC BALLET. Basic Technique and Terminology. Historical Development by Lincoln Kirstein, Descriptive Text by Muriel Stuart, Illustrations by Carlus Dyer, with a Preface by George Balanchine. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

FOR soundness, for clarity, for succinctness, this manual of basic ballet is the best there is anywhere. It is the hardest to misunderstand. The painstaking drawings take you by the hand, they show you the step, the course it takes, the point of it; they do everything for you but dance. As a reference book for laymen—as a "visual dictionary" of basic steps and terms—this book is the handiest to use you can find. The pleasure is the greater because the text is literate, and the bookmaking is superb. The undertaking such a volume represents—five years of disinterested, concentrated effort by a number of collaborators—is immense. Its success is worth reporting, but there is something more remarkable. The real originality of the book is a trait it lays no claim to, and that takes a few words to explain.

Following the traditional order of exercises in a ballet class, the book, exercise by exercise and step by step, collates and codifies current usage in technique and terminology. The logic of its choice is so cogent that it presents the reader with a coherent style. This turns out to be the style which Europeans—and then Americans too—have during the last three or four years come to call "American classicism." Petersburg-descended, the American style is larger, clearer, faster, and more audacious than any West European one, as you see it in company performance. It trains virtuosity of action, not virtuosity of personality or personal expression. The crux of it is in a steady carriage, a steady rhythm, a steady central impetus of movement with no extravagance or mannerism in the extremities; it gives a large scale to the general effect of a company's dancing. This style, vaguely instinctive or indigenous to teachers and dancers from all over the country, has been growing more decided through the last decade; it has been sharpened, clarified, made exemplary by Balanchine's brilliant displays of it in his dance ballets, particularly in the repertory of the New York City Ballet. Now for the first time our still new style is codified and consolidated by a book. The manual brings into sharper focus the work of teachers all over the country, and it documents the role of our dancing in the international tradition or evolution of ballet.

That evolution or tradition in all its complex technical, social, and moral fabric is brilliantly presented by Lincoln Kirstein in a capsule ballet history he contributes as an introduction. Reading it, one realizes that as a historian he is fully aware of the protection given our all too recent and all too insecure ballet by such a consolidation of style—or Chinese Wall—as that of this book, this accurate, useful, careful book. Remembering the labor of assembling and publishing it, one is grateful to him for having conceived so grandiose a project of consolidation and for having carried it out. It is reassuring to watch a citizen among us trying in a disinterested way to preserve our brilliant and impecunious ballet dancing. My only wish would be that Miss Stuart and Mr. Dyer would, after another five years, return with a second volume of advanced technique—one on the variations of rhythm, of stress, and of pace in a step that give it color—to supplement this volume of basic technique; and to show

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how our American dance style, from this basic correctness, can proceed further to that edge of personal elegance which Kirstein in writing describes so well and with such zest.

EDWIN DENBY

The Modern Marriage

THE MANY LIVES OF MODERN WOMAN. By Sidonie M. Gruenberg and Hilda Sidney Krech. Doubleday and Company. $3.

OF THE spate of books on how to be human though woman which have appeared in the last few years—and which range from the slick Hillis, "Live Alone and Like it," to the gloomy Farnham, "Modern Woman: The Lost Sex"—this is, on a non-technical level, by far the best.

The authors, a mother and daughter team, do not offer a formula solution to the frequently conflicting problems contemporary women are asked and ask themselves to face, nor do they, as the jacket blurb implies, pretend to chart a "guide to happiness." Instead, in a series of practical and moderately optimistic chapters, they give a clear analysis of the major tasks of reconciliation besetting women today.

They stress that most middle-class young women are "educated" as if they were to spend their lives profitably working at some rather distinguished job for which their training must begin early and the exigencies of which are so great that practical considerations must be shelved while the training period is on. Instead, the authors realistically conclude, most jobs for women, as for men, are neither distinguished nor excessively exigent: they are just jobs, not careers. And unfortunately the great majority never use their special training to any satisfying extent. Meanwhile, with the tacit excuse of career preparation, young women are not permitted to acquire those elementary skills which make the pursuit of their married careers, the only real careers they will ever have, relatively painless.

The recommendation here is not in the fascist tradition that women be prepared only for *Kinder, Kirche, Küche.* Instead, Mmes. Gruenberg and Krech suggest that, especially in the formative —or training—years, girls take a more active part in home responsibility and management regardless of "homework," so that they will not be stunned and bungling neophytes when they face the same problems themselves.

In discussing the modern marriage, the authors come up with the unadmitted but indubitably accurate fact that most young wives are abysmally lonely, whether living in urban or rural communities, lonely, that is, for comparable adult companionship. The small family unit, the gadget-dominated home, both have tended to promote the self-contained cell, so that there is little call for help or real exchange of courtesies between neighbors, much less between relatives. The child-bearing, child-rearing stage, therefore, is apt to be a stagnant one for the mother no matter how this period is lovingly glossed over in later life.

Once the children are in school, the still young mother is too habit-ridden, in most cases, to stir herself to independent activity unless she has to (and throughout the book the authors emphasize that their advice is not primarily for the women who must work for economic reasons but for the "average" middle-class woman who has a choice). Here the good training which the ungifted, unexceptional, but intelligent and quite well-educated American matron has had as a student comes into its own: this training should never be allowed to remain completely dormant. If the field of specialization chosen when young was appropriate in the first place, it should not be tabled permanently. If it was not the right choice, then some more realistic field of special interest should now be developed—and not in a dilettante manner, but with sufficient concentration and consistency to yield, in time, adequate results in terms of accomplishment and personal satisfaction.

The crux of the book seems to me contained in the following recommendation: "Educational leaders (as well as individual women) should give more serious and systematic thought to the distinct stages in the normal life of women. Girls need to be educated and trained somewhat differently from boys. But the different need applies not so much to skills and knowledge as to orientation of women toward realistic expectations for their future lives" (p. 202). This way lies sanity, a diminution of conflict, of frustration, and of just plain waste.

"The Many Lives of Modern Woman" is sound, written way above the level of the usual "how to" article, and seems the most logical analysis yet available of the development of the American woman's life pattern.

FRANCES KEENE

Books in Brief

GOVERNMENT BY THE PEOPLE. The Dynamics of American National Government. By James MacGregor Burns and Jack Walter Peltason. Prentice-Hall. $7.50. One may hope that some of the 70,000,000 Americans who witnessed the recent national conventions turned from their television sets with new curiosity to understand political behavior. An excellent introduction to the problem is provided by this fine book by two able college teachers of politics. It is designed to catch the imagination of readers and to stimulate creative participation in political democracy. The different sections deal with the nature of American society, the essentials of democratic government, civil liberties, the Presidency, the judiciary, the bureaucracy, Congress, and foreign affairs. Beyond this, Burns and Peltason have covered the essential facts and major problems involved in the use and abuse of Congressional investigations,

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government regulation of business, social security, political apathy, and military-civilian relations. The final chapter contains a brief presentation of liberal, conservative, and democratic-socialist ideas for dealing with contemporary problems. There are excellent charts, tables, diagrams, and a selective bibliography. Sprightly writing and some of Herblock's mordant cartoons make this a book to be enjoyed by the general reader.

LAMIEL. By Stendhal. Translated and with an Introduction by T. W. Earp. New Directions. $2. It is annoying to read on the dust-jacket of this new translation that "this little masterpiece —Stendhal's last novel—appears now for the first time in English." The first English translation appeared almost a quarter of a century ago. But it is good to have "Lamiel" available, inexpensively, in a crisp version by T. W. Earp, who has also supplied a useful preface. It was Stendhal's one attempt to write a popular novel, although judging by what he completed it is not very clear *how* it was intended to be popular. Unfortunately, he died before he could finish it. Two-thirds reads like a final draft; the rest grows ever more a series of hasty notes—death approaching—on his intentions. Lamiel, it is a commonplace of Stendhal criticism, is a female Julien Sorel. Stendhal describes magnificently the girlhood of this adopted daughter of a village schoolmaster during the reign of Charles X and life in a Norman château after she had been taken up by the great lady of the district. She learns about ennui, *her* malady, in the château and about sex in the woods and then runs off during the July revolution to make her fortune in Paris. She comes to a very bad end. The provincial scenes are brilliant and very funny. The rest was simply not written, although to the Stendhal enthusiast even his notes about what he would have done will have their great importance.

CORRECTION: In last week's issue it was erroneously noted that "The Bright Medusa," by Howard Mumford Jones, which was reviewed by Joseph Wood Krutch, was published by the University of Chicago Press. The book was published by the University of Illinois Press.

Art Begins Again in Germany

BY JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES

Munich

IN THE first years after 1945 German art was in a state of confusion. Anything could be produced, everything could be sold—since there was nothing else to buy—so long as it was what the Nazis had forbidden. Groups were formed and geniuses announced, in Berlin especially, only to disappear again. Expressionism had been dying fifteen years before; but under "reeducation" it was hastily revived and sold to the younger generation as the latest thing in modern art. The exhibitions were a circus of epigones. Meanwhile in the South a few artists were feeling their way and finding one another. In 1947 a few of them began to meet in Munich.

In the group were four painters—Gerhard Fietz, Rupprecht Geiger, Willi Hempel, and Rolf Cavael—and a very young sculptress, Brigitte Meier-Denninghoff. They had Klee and Kandinsky as their spiritual fathers and as temporal father old Willi Baumeister, who was again teaching in Stuttgart after the Nazi ban. The next year Fritz Winter, once a Klee-Kandinsky student at the old Bauhaus, returned from West Siberia. At the end of 1949 the seven formed an exhibition group—"ZEN49." The name owed a little to the German love of mystical philosophy, but it also suggested an affinity to the ancient Chinese, for whom art was a branch of meditation.

In April, 1950, the ZEN49 group held their first show at the American-administered art-collecting point in Munich, then sent their work on view through West Germany. There was Baumeister, who certainly needs no description here. There was Winter, loose, dynamic, with a spatial-romantic color and a swinging line. Fietz, by comparison, was characterized by sensitive, precise, and rather magical drawing, perhaps showing greater depths but with less coming to the top. Geiger was just the opposite—a surrealist architecture built in contrasts of the flat and spatial, colors like trumpet blasts. Cavael's tiny, floating compositions had the "look of silence," still-points of the greatest concentration. Hempel's golden colors gave again the southern Adriatic, where throughout the Nazi period he had his home. Meier-Denninghoff produced forms—in metal, wood, and stone—which seemed ambiguous until one realized that she was rendering the landscape, woods, and mountains in an abstract plastic art.

All this, however, amounted to much more than "organic abstraction." What was common to all the artists, with their various personal styles, was the conviction that art was no play of forms. Their pictures had content—and pride of content. Through the discipline of non-representation both nature and the human theme were coming out again. A great deal that the abstract artists had had to leave aside—chiaroscuro, atmosphere, and lyrical emotion—now returned. One might say that the old antithesis between surrealism and abstract art had been resolved. In this new trend both "form" and "composition" in the cubist-abstract sense had disappeared. Line and color were used independently, and each canvas seemed a glimpse of some bigger reality, caught as it rushed by. The sculptures, in the richness of their plastic forms, carried a threat, surely not independent of the menace of these times.

The next step was to expand the group from its regional beginning. That meant attracting artists from other parts of Germany and from outside. From Berlin, Theodor Werner was invited, a painter of Baumeister's generation who had worked for years in Paris. He brought something to the movement which he had learned from Joán Miró, rhythms with a long, slow elegance. With him came two sculptors: Carl Hartung, handling problems of mass and space like those of Moore's middle period and carrying them farther; and Hans Uhlmann, working principally in wire, a sort of rhythmic drawing in the atmosphere. Three painters came from the Rhineland—Hubert Berke, Hans Trier, and Josef Fassbender. Berke was one of the last of Klee's students in Germany and had learned from him without imitating his style. Trier is another temperament like Fritz Winter, using a fast dynamic line with color as a counterpoint. Fassbender produces little; he is a strange introverted poet who invents, somewhere on the level of the archetypes, a legendary world. Final-

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ly, the Paris painters Hans Hartung and Pierre Soulages accepted membership and showed their work.

Like the original group, all varied greatly in temperament. But the contrasts of the second exhibition—Werner's worldly elegance with the dark romantic Winter, Berke's delicate *peinture* with Geiger's sheets of color like projected light, the intense space-tension of a tiny Carl Hartung with a massive rhythmic Meier-Denninghoff—only brought the inner correspondence out. Style here was no more the common element than it was for the painters of the *Blaue Reiter*. Kandinsky saw under their various styles "the spiritualization of matter." And that is the tradition, the "submerged tradition," from which the ZEN group springs. But it has grown up to meet the latest French development, that expressed by Hartung, Schneider, Soulages. These three have now become members of ZEN.

This year the election of Julius Bissier, Woty Werner, and Frederick Thieler has brought the number to thirteen. It could be tripled if a strict eye were not kept on quality. Every day in West Germany one comes upon young artists in whose work the tendency is plain. It hardly seems too soon to speak of a new "school," although it is still a school without a name.

Films

MANNY FARBER

THE Kinesis films, produced by a group of little-known San Francisco experimentalists, are mostly animated "cartoons" that have the glitter and bang-bang sort of interest of Pollock-Motherwell-Hoffman paintings, and practically drug you with their quick, even-cutting pace, lush over-scoring of music, and shallow richness. The idea of most of the Kinesis group is to take something that is practically nothing (thick swirls of lavalike paint, etc.), make it march, expand and fade, relate it to Mozart or Dizzy Gillespie, and hope that it takes wing like music. My own feeling is that if you put as much music into films as do Gordon Belson and Hy Hirsh, you won't have a picture so much as a repetitious exercise in rhythm. Belson's new animations give the impression of a Jackson Pollock kaleidoscope set in motion to mamba sounds; the over-all effect is morbid and thick. Hy Hirsh puts on a stunning display of tricky neon-colored evolutions, but her film—Arp-like ovals deploying across the screen like a formation of airplanes through three symphonic movements—almost sent me to sleep.

Weldon Kees's "Apex Hotel" (not animated) steals the Kinesis show, partly because the camera work and cutting are as primitive as the drawing of "Moon Mullins" but principally because it is such an aridly neat and unbiased picture of architectural debris. Kees's camera takes you through a crumbling two-story dwelling, a completely unilluminating tour that keeps you guessing about where the house is, what shape it originally had, and who lived in it. The movie crawls down a steam pipe at the pace of a half-dead bug, sits on a busted light socket for four seconds, stares down a toilet bowl, examines the MacArthur headline of an old newspaper. Kees may never threaten Greg Toland or James Wong Howe as a lensman, but he has a wonderful eye for accidental composition—shapes, lines, and textures lock together as though they were set in concrete. The effects he gets are sometimes quite jolting, as though things were appearing as they are, without any evidence of mood, or participation.

"This Is Cinerama" is a series of pedestrian travelogue ideas (a ride on a roller-coaster, bagpipers skirling around Edinburgh Castle, Niagara from a helicopter) showing what the new three-lensed camera and cycloramic screen can do. To judge from the audiences' reactions, the movie industry some day will throw its old camera equipment in the ash can and start rebuilding movie theaters with fifty-foot-long curving screens and three projection booths midway in the orchestra section. Fred Waller's invention is a device for widening the screen image to take in periphery impressions seen from the corners of the eyes; three synchronized images joined at the edges are thrown on the screen, which seems to half-surround the spectator. The impact of this presentation will probably open the pores of the movie industry, and I am all for it, partly because it will bring into power the panoramic shots and documentary photography originally basic to the medium, before the theatrical people took over talkies. There are some disappointing things that Cinerama's backers (Lowell Thomas, Mike Todd)

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failed to mention. The big, deep screen is much too large for comfortable viewing, and the sound is roughly equivalent to being at the center of a volcano. You frequently look at an image that offers some of the distortions of a concave or convex mirror—it is apparently not yet possible to show a perfectly straight line across the screen. The three-dimensional effect is strictly an illusion; it would be interesting to see the result of an alliance between this invention and a stereoscopic device.

So much for the out-of-the-ordinary movies. Now the problem is how to enjoy such pillars of platitude as some of the following releases. "What Price Glory?" owes its spark and vitality to the Cagney-Dailey acting team, which doesn't seem bothered by having to shoulder the oldest luggage of slapstick and pathos. Going along with modern Broadway ideas, someone at Twentieth-Century-Fox got the notion to do this War I play and movie (which had guts, explosive energy) as a snappy, overdecorated semi-musical, with soldiers on motor cycles running smack into haystacks, tough officers choking up at the sight of a wounded youngster and cursing the horrors of war, and every so often the oh-so-cute Corinne Calvet being maneuvered by a crowd of drunken friends into a position where you can either look up or down her dress. The rivalry between Captain Flagg and Sergeant Quirt is worked out with a ballet-like synchronism between its two leads, both of whom seem to have ripened in recent years and to have become curiously uneasy and eccentric, even verging to the slightest degree on madness—Cagney, with a crazy waddle and ferocious decisiveness, and Dailey with a loose-tongued delivery and the signs of frenzy in his Gary Cooperish face. Their befuddled digressions into mannerism give the film the sharp accents and jagged rhythms of silent films, and lessen the romantic distortions of director John Ford, who derived his shapes and colors from Thomas Benton's paintings.

"The Happy Time" takes a sweet look at a twelve-year-old being indoctrinated into the mysteries of life in 1910 in Ottawa; it stars Bobby Driscoll, a juvenile whose strident ambition to get ahead in films has gained him some of the indigestible qualities of Betty Hutton and Jerry Lewis. "The Snows of Kilimanjaro" is mainly lacking in a sense of when enough is enough; the hero is a great-lover-writer-hunter-soldier who has lover's quarrels and reconciliations with everyone but Ethel Barrymore and daydreams endlessly. Its only actors who manage to combine fire and grace are an eerie hyena and the alto saxophonist Benny Carter.

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

COLUMBIA has issued Berlioz's "Harold in Italy" played by Beecham with his Royal Philharmonic and William Primrose as viola soloist. It is a better performance than Koussevitzky's, and better recorded (*i. e.*, with clarity in the brilliant climaxes that were blurred by reverberation in Koussevitzky's performance). But it suffers from the stodginess and fussiness that have been evident in Beecham's recent work; and it suffers further from Primrose's vulgar playing—in particular the fat-toned wailing which the engineers allowed to obliterate some of the miraculously beautiful orchestral details in the third movement. The recorded sound (from my city machine again) is excellent.

One of Brahms's finest instrumental works, his Symphony No. 4, receives its definitive recorded performance from Toscanini and the NBC Symphony on an RCA Victor record. It is a performance free of all the traditional changes of tempo in the first and last movements, and wonderfully satisfying in its steadiness, its continuity of impetus and flow, its organic coherence, its clarity of texture, its exquisite modeling of phrase. And with bass stepped up it is excellently reproduced.

Similar clarity, continuity, and coherence are part of what is impressive in Cantelli's performance of Tchaikovsky's Symphony No. 5 with the Milan Scala Orchestra on an HMV record. And in addition there is the interest of a performance free of traditional excesses—one that gives us the work strictly as it is written. Here and there it is a little too rigid; but for the most part it is a refreshing experience. The orchestra, unfortunately, isn't first-class, or doesn't sound first-class on this record, which seems to have been dubbed from 78s: the sound requires stepping up of bass and treble, and isn't spacious and voluminous; contrapuntal texture isn't clear; the second movement becomes enveloped in a hash of distortion.

On another HMV record, also dubbed from 78s, are Mozart's Symphony K.425 ("Linz") and Haydn's Symphony No. 88 played by Fritz Busch with the Danish State Radio Symphony. The tempo of the first movement of the Mozart symphony seems to me too fast for the proper effect of the music, but otherwise the performance is excellent; and so is the performance of the Haydn. The recorded sound of the Mozart requires stepping up of bass; that of the Haydn requires even more bass but a reduction of treble to avoid stridency, and even then the sound is not clean in the third and fourth movements.

Haydn's Symphonies Nos. 49 ("La Passione") (1768) and 73 ("La Chasse") (1781) are on a Haydn Society record played by Harry Newstone with the Haydn Orchestra of London. No. 49 has a superb slow first movement and an engaging minuet movement; No. 73 is a more engaging work throughout. The performances are outstandingly fine; the recorded sound of No. 73 is

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good, but that of No. 49 requires reduction of treble to avoid stridency, and even then is a little unclean in the last movement.

By virtue of a book about Berlioz noteworthy, among other reasons, for its author's inability to say anything illuminating about Berlioz's music, Jacques Barzun has become the man to review performances and recordings of Berlioz's works in the *Saturday Review* and to compile "Pleasures of Music: A Reader's Choice of Great Writing About Music and Musicians" (Viking, $5). In the customary editor's introduction, entitled Music and Words, he envelopes the subject of writing words about music in a haze of diffuse bright chatter, and more relevantly offers explanations of the preponderant number of items in the collection that are not writing about music but merely involve music indirectly in some way—e.g., excerpts from novels, Barnum's account of the Jenny Lind tour, Prokofiev's confession of error after the Zhdanov denunciation. Mr. Barzun also states his criteria of selection: "the representative worth of the sample, the greatness of the mind that conceived it, and the felicity of the prose"; but a large number of the selections are not to be accounted for by these values or any others; nor has he chosen the best work of even the great writers. What he has done in this collection is to demonstrate again, as in the book on Berlioz, the enormous amount and range of his reading, and again his astounding lack of discrimination. And one begins to see the process which produced both books: a lifetime of indiscriminate collecting of bits of material into files, then an equally indiscriminate emptying of the files into books.

CONTRIBUTORS

HAYDEN CARRUTH, was formerly editor of *Poetry*.

ELIZABETH STEVENSON, author of "The Crooked Corridor: A Study of Henry James," is at work on a biography of Henry Adams.

EDWIN DENBY is the author of "Looking at the Dance."

JOHN ANTHONY THWAITES has written on art for various publications in this country and in Europe.

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS

Racism Northern Style

Dear Sirs: Many Northerners criticize the South for the violent acts it has committed against the Negro population. Few Northern whites are aware, however, that their communities are often just as guilty of injustice toward the Negro as Southern towns. The exoneration of policemen guilty of beating or killing Negroes by all white juries—whose sense of justice is clouded by the drunk, razor-wielding stereotype of the Negro—is building up resentment for which there is no outlet because the authorities and the press conspire to keep the people ignorant of what is going on. Yonkers is one such community.

On March 19 at about 9 p. m. Stanley LaBensky, a recently retired Westchester County policeman, walked into Yale's Tavern on Riverdale Avenue in Yonkers and complained to the bartender, Sam Serbay, because drinks were being served to Negro patrons while he was there. Shortly after leaving the bar LaBensky encountered some Negro men on the sidewalk. Whipping out his unlicensed automatic pistol LaBensky jammed it against the first man's stomach, saying, "So you don't think I'd fire this thing?" and shot at point-blank range, killing Wyatt Blacknall instantly. LaBensky then fired two shots into James Blacknall, nephew of his first victim, who died three hours later. Another member of the Blacknall family, William, narrowly escaped being shot as he ran for help when LaBensky's gun jammed.

The local newspaper in reporting the crime quoted Acting Public Safety Commissioner William J. Comey as saying that the slayings were "unprovoked." In the same paper was a front-page two-column spread dedicated to LaBensky's achievements as a revolver expert and his "heroism" in World War II, including a photograph taken of LaBensky in police uniform "demonstrating shooting from a motor cycle." No personal tributes were made to Wyatt Blacknall's service in World War II nor to James, too young to have served in the war, but married and the father of a two-year-old son.

The Negro people vigorously protested these killings and also the newspaper's method of reporting the case at an overflow rally held in Yonkers, where a resolution was drafted asking Governor Dewey to disqualify District Attorney George Fanelli as LaBensky's prosecutor. Fanelli, the man responsible for order at Peekskill in 1949 and later the man who investigated the disorder, said that there was no need for a protest meeting and that "the indictments in this case will be prosecuted vigorously."

On June 11, in White Plains, Stanley LaBensky was found innocent of both counts of first-degree murder by an all white jury. LaBensky had claimed self-defense. In his charge to the jury Judge Liddle said that if the jury found that LaBensky believed he was about to be assaulted or about to be robbed, then he had a right to shoot.

It may well be that LaBensky's action in killing these people and the jury's action in acquitting him was influenced by the fact that the Blacknalls were not the first Negro men to die at the hands of policemen in Yonkers, and LaBensky was not the first to go unpunished for murder.

On August 27, 1949, Thomas Wilson, a twenty-six-year-old veteran who worked as a hod carrier, was brutally clubbed and then shot to death in a bar on New Main Street by Patrolmen Allison Hopper and Frank Porach. Wilson was unarmed. His brother, Leonard, was present, and when he asked Patrolman Hopper not to shoot he was told to stand back or he would get the same treatment as his brother.

The Yonkers Police Department found no fault with the conduct of the policemen, and District Attorney Fanelli did not see fit to make a separate investigation of his own, so the two policemen resumed their duties as guardians of Yonkers law.

Amanda Wilson Flamer, sister of the dead man, filed a suit for civil indemnity against the city of Yonkers. When the case came to trial, the policemen denied beating Wilson, despite the coroner's testimony that the corpse bore scalp wounds to the bone, and asserted that the bleeding and beaten Wilson was moving toward them as though to attack when Patrolman Hopper shot, in direct contradiction to even the policemen's own witness.

Mrs. Flamer lost her case and is now trying to raise the hundreds of dollars necessary to have the court records printed in order to appeal the case.

The greatest difficulty in the Wilson

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case has been to find witnesses willing to testify in court because of the fear of police retaliations. One witness who testified that Wilson was killed unnecessarily was subsequently told by a policeman, "We have the F. B. I. watching you."

One eyewitness to the Wilson slaying who had courage enough to testify in court was a mild-mannered man named Oliver Phillips. By the time the Wilson case came to court, however, Oliver Phillips was dead of bullet wounds inflicted by another patrolman, rookie James Waldron.

Early in the morning of September 15, 1951, Patrolman Waldron, who was off duty and out of uniform, was celebrating the birth of his first child by drinking in Yonkers bars with three friends. Sometime after 3 a. m. the four men drove into Morgan Street, an out of the way street in a Negro neighborhood known for its "after-hours" house of prostitution.

The policeman's story of the incident is that his friends' car broke down on Morgan Street and that he shot and killed Oliver Phillips and seriously wounded Payton Miller because they had attacked him. The three able-bodied men with Waldron do not claim to have been attacked and explain that they did not help Waldron because they were "frozen to their places."

This story was greeted with a good deal of skepticism in Yonkers, but two days later Captain O'Connor of the Police Department announced that Waldron's story was "correct in every detail." District Attorney Fanelli again made no investigation of the affair, and Waldron continues as a policeman, as do Hopper and Porach.

Payton Miller, survivor of Waldron's shooting spree, filed a charge of first-degree assault against Patrolman Waldron. A grand jury cleared Waldron of this charge and at the same time indicted the victim for second-degree assault.

The widow of Oliver Phillips has filed a civil suit for $75,000 indemnity against the city of Yonkers, but there is even more difficulty in getting witnesses for this case, since many of the people who saw the shooting are themselves engaged in illegal activities.

Despite the fact that Thomas Wilson, Oliver Phillips, and the older Blacknall were all veterans of World War II, the veterans' organizations not only have made no protest but have actually allied themselves with the police in suppressing any possible protest.

With the exception of the American Labor Party, no political, religious, or civic group of any kind has issued a statement condemning the killings or sought ways of avoiding further incidents of this type.

The Negro community in Yonkers is more of a ghetto today than ever before in its history. The people smolder with an anger for which there is no outlet. The local N. A. A. C. P. has taken no effective action in any one of these cases, and people generally show little trust in it as an organization.

CLAIRE HURWITZ

Yonkers, New York

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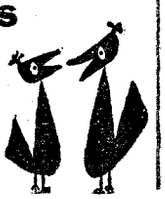

The African Sculptor . . .

Dear Sirs: I read with read great interest the appreciative remarks of S. Lane Faison, Jr., on my book "African Sculpture Speaks," in your September 27 issue. With all due respect to the liberty of a reviewer, I would like to comment on one of his statements which would appear contrary to what I have written.

He says that my "approach is fundamentally different from" what Picasso said ". . . when the form is realized it is there to lead its own life." First of all, Picasso's statement does not refer to African sculpture but to cubism. Secondly, it was I who used this quotation on the very first page of my book, to indicate that this statement, in my opinion, is also applicable to African sculpture. Furthermore, I elaborate upon this concept in several instances—for example, on page 130—and tried to show that the appeal of African art to the Western mind is not because it originates in Africa, but because its "abstract" quality is so akin to cubist paintings. Thus instead of being fundamentally different I am fundamentally in agreement, considering our approach to African art from the artistic viewpoint.

The fact that in another section of my book I related the sculpture to its ethnic origin and tried to convey the African's concept—the reason behind the sculpture—has nothing to do with the great emotional reaction we experience from contemplating an African carving. My contention is that if, through intellectual channels, we can understand the meaning of an art manifestation in its own surroundings and can couple this with an emotional resonance, our experience has been enriched.

LADISLAS SEGY

New York

. . . and the Cubist

Dear Sirs: Despite the author's tendentious rebuttal of my review of his book, I still think Ladislas Segy has written a fine work on African sculpture. I also still think he is in arrears in his discussion of its impact on modern art. After rereading page 130 I find no reason to change anything in my review. No doubt, as Segy says, "it was the *spirit* of that African sculpture, its content, its inner drive, which was captured by the modern artists." And no doubt this content, first digested, was then recreated by them. But the recreation led to sharply differing results, and therefore all generalization about the modern response to African sculpture is misleading if it does not explore these divergences.

S. LANE FAISON, JR.

Williamstown, Mass.

The Well-worn Shoes

Dear Sirs: Many of your readers must have seen the photograph of Stevenson which showed a hole in the sole of one of his shoes; this little poem, written by Russel A. Morehouse, was prompted by it:

As a choice of candidates
From which to choose,
I'm votin' for him
With the well-worn shoes,
Not choosin' him
Who stands revealed
With too many men
Who're too well heeled!

Edmonds, Wash. RICHARD BRADLY

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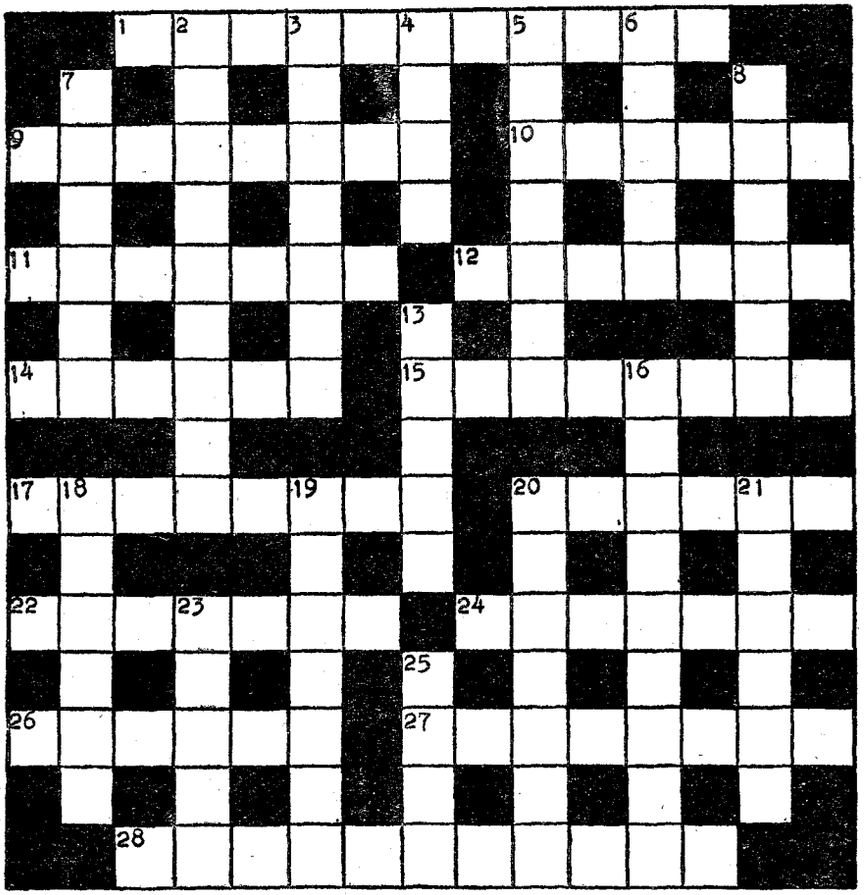
Crossword Puzzle No. 485

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Ensign? (4, 7)
9 Harte's were connected with what sounds like a game on the level. (8)
10 Part of the Big Lie recalls an association with the Red Poppy. (6)
11 Synonyms of a beginner concealed in and confused with the Adam's Apple. (7)
12 Loaded with poison? (7)
14 Bring back a stone barrel from Connecticut, perhaps. (6)
15 Not likely to be a mermaid, but when one is angling for a wife he might hope to. (8)
17 You might Handel's to suit your voice when singing "away down south." (3, 5)
20 This is a sort of bug in a river. (6)
22 Patrick's alternative was not to be quick. (7)
24 Rides to part of an estate, but not first, second, or third. (7)
26 Act essential in the make-up of the realm. (6)
27 What one doesn't like to hear from either the back seat or from under the hood? (8)
28 Mechanical device that heats the meanest quarters with hot water? (5, 6)

DOWN

2 Causing tears to appear. (9)
3 Rather young bird to leave with a weapons carrier! (7)
4 Instructions not to eat quickly? (4)
5 Firmly fixed (but not when raining. (7)
6 Men in this feed on dreams, according to Aeschylus. (5)
7 Shut up! You probably can't understand it, anyway! (6)
8 and 13. The low level of sawdust, perhaps. (6, 5)
16 Anyway, would it be correct to say 3 is of all the birds? (9)
18 He was creative enough to come up with half the body missing. (6)
19 Something to help you hold your drink, when in a bad way? (The Capitol has one.) (7)
20 Where to look for the band of 3? (7)
21 Over-age fish? Hoover implied every one would be full. (6)
23 Raise up. (5)
25 Serves, perhaps, at court. (4)

★

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 484

ACROSS:—1 SOMEBODY; 5 CORSET; 9 RENAMES; 10 CREAMER; 11 and 16 down CHICKEN A LA KING; 12 OMICRON; 13 DANGER SIGNALS; 15 CLASS STRUGGLE; 21 BRAHMAN; 22 SEA WALL; 23 OMINOUS; 24 IMPALED; 25 SIGNET; 26 ANCESTOR.

DOWN:—1 SPRUCE; 2 MANKIND; 3 BUMPKIN; 4 DISINFECTANTS; 6 OPENING; 7 SAMARIA; 8 TARTNESS; 10 CROSS-QUESTION; 14 SCABIOUS; 17 SOMEONE; 18 GRAPPLE; 19 EPAULET; 20 GLIDER.

Readers are invited to send for a free copy of Mr. Lewis's "ground rules." Address requests to Puzzle Dept., The Nation, 20 Vesey Street, New York 7, New York.

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